

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

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NUMBER 1

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Rural Youth and the Government¹

*Aubrey Williams**

ABSTRACT

More than two and a half million rural young people have had to be assisted in some way by the Federal Government since 1933. This situation is the result of long-time trends which were brought into bold relief by the depression. In the past rural youth escaped from the effects of these trends by either migrating to new lands or to the cities. New lands are now no longer available and the cities are unable to absorb as many rural youth as formerly. The result is a "piling up" of youth in rural territory.

The educational and work programs of both the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps have supplemented the schools and the economic system. Through these programs the Federal Government has admitted its responsibility for removing the economic barrier to education on the high school level and above for youth in low income families, as well as the responsibility to provide vocational training, work experience, and wages to youth from relief families who are unable to obtain employment.

The government's obligation to its citizens in the field of recreation received an impetus during the years since the initiation of the emergency programs. A responsibility to youth not yet discharged adequately by the government is the presentation of facts for discussion of present-day problems and government. There is a demand among rural youth for such discussions.

Requisites to proper discharge of the government's responsibility to youth in any area of activity are: Adequate facts, including uniform data gathered periodically, upon which to base policies and a body of public opinion sanctioning the assumption of responsibilities to youth expressed through the elected representatives of the people in Congress.

It has been my responsibility during the last few years to help direct the Federal Government's work in assisting youth of the lowest economic level, among whom have been many thousands from the farms and from rural-nonfarm homes. Youth like their elders were caught in the maelstrom of the economic depression; it was absolutely necessary for the government to take emergency measures to meet the critical situation faced by them. The assumption of emergency responsibilities for youth through the activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, and the continuing need for assistance to this group make desirable a redefinition of the relationship of government to youth.

* Deputy Administrator of the Works Progress Administration and Executive Director of the National Youth Administration.

¹ A paper presented before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December, 1937.

TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

Since the first efforts were made in 1933 to alleviate distress, well over two and one-half million rural youths have appealed directly or indirectly to the Federal Government for aid. In addition others (how many it is impossible to estimate) have found themselves idle and unable to make their adjustment into adult life with any adequate assurance of economic security.

These conditions were the results of long-time trends, but it took the depression to reveal both the unfortunate condition of many youths and the trends. For years the length of time it takes to pass up the rungs of the agricultural ladder from farm laborer to farm owner has been increasing. Concomitantly more and more farm youths have been looking for "jobs." As a corollary of these trends much of the good farm land has been falling into the hands of corporations, thereby thwarting the American ideal—the family farm operated by the family. Moreover, technology applied to agriculture has been making manpower decreasingly necessary. The exhaustion of natural resources, such as timber, coal, and hillside soils, has likewise been in process, and has made it more and more difficult to make a living in some regions.

For decades two avenues provided youth an escape from the pressing effects of these trends—moving to new lands and migration to the cities. In the East, some decades prior to the close of the last century, the operation of some of these trends was already restricting opportunities on the land, which caused many young people to join the westward movement of population. By the beginning of the new century most of the best agricultural lands in the West were taken. That closed opportunity in that direction, whereupon youth then turned to the cities where industry swallowed them up ravenously. There was a net movement of approximately 2,000,000 young people from the farms to the cities during the decade prior to the economic convulsion, which some historians say began in 1929, though students of rural life know that the depression began for agriculture in 1920.

The escape by way of the cities was practically closed during the first years of the depression, and though there was some resumption of the movement from the farms after 1932, America had almost one million more young people on its farms in 1935 than in 1930. In the industrial centers labor-saving machines in the factories have competed successfully with youth for the available jobs. As a result many youths in the

cities are idle, while at the same time youths not needed in the country search for urban employment.

The present business recession, again restricting employment in the industrial centers, promises if continued to pyramid the surplus of rural youths. Although migration from farms has been resumed, it has not been sufficient to relieve the congestion, especially in poor land areas. Consequently, unless there is a rapid recovery from the present business slump, from one and a half to two million more youths will be struggling to make a living and an adjustment into adult life in rural America in 1940 than in 1930. Augmenting the number of rural youth who must depend on the land directly or indirectly for sustenance can only result in further limitations in opportunities per individual, which in turn may mean a progressive lowering of the standard of living for the oncoming families of thousands of rural youth.

OBLIGATIONS TO YOUTH

With this ominous prospect facing many rural young people, it behooves us to re-examine the obligations a democratic society owes its youth. Certain responsibilities have long been accepted and the exercise of these responsibilities incorporated in our governmental systems—state and Federal. Other responsibilities are recent. Additional responsibilities may have to be assumed.

The education of childhood and youth has been accepted as a basic tenet in our democracy, and on it has been built America's free public school system. Free public education for the masses was furthered as a means of eliminating the wretchedness and poverty that accompanied the rapid expansion of our industrial system during the second half of the last century.² Until quite recently, however, this obligation was generally considered to be fulfilled when the child completed the eighth grade. In the days when farms to rent or buy were always available in the home community, and migration to the West or to the city was open to those who did not care to remain, this amount of schooling was perhaps sufficient. But as time passed and society grew more complex the need for high schools in rural areas grew.

High schools in rural areas multiplied rapidly after 1910 as a consequence of state and local acceptance of the additional obligation to provide general education above the eighth grade and various types of

² Charles A. Beard, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*, Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, 1937, p. 41.

vocational training. The Federal Government undertook to provide special vocational training in agriculture, homemaking, and some industrial arts to be given in these high schools. These institutions have done much to bridge the years between childhood and the time when full adult responsibilities are assumed. Since 1930, in fact, they may be said to have acted as shock absorbers for the depression; the enrollment in rural public schools rose from 1,438,000 in 1930 to the unprecedented figure of 2,202,000 in 1934 and has probably not declined since. There are admittedly shocking inequalities in the availability of high school facilities to youth in rural areas, and the curricula of some that are available are woefully inadequate. Nevertheless, more and more rural high school graduates are turned out, while the basic problems facing rural youth remain largely unsolved. Indeed it appears that education alone may no longer be insurance against economic insecurity.

Nevertheless, vocational training is necessary as one means of helping young people to adjust to the economic system, and to living in this complicated competitive modern society. Boys who are going to be farmers need to know how to be efficient farmers in order to compete with other commercial farmers. Those who are to go into other occupations should likewise be trained to do their work better. Girls need training in homemaking in order to be able to make the best use of the resources at their disposal as well as training for jobs.

However, when the depression struck, it was found that the vocational training offered had been far from adequate since distressingly high proportions of the young persons in relief families were utterly untrained for any kind of work even if it had been available. In order, therefore, to prepare these youths for the day when jobs would be available and to equip them to live better in their own communities, the Federal Government injected the vocational training element into the program of both the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. Not only have these emergency agencies trained youth, but they have given them actual work experience with wages, thereby removing another serious handicap to obtaining employment in the general labor market, namely, the lack of experience. More than a million rural young men have been in the C.C.C. camps, and hundreds of thousands of young men and women have participated in the N.Y.A. program through the work projects and shop training centers where young people learn vocations by doing. An analysis of the distribution of young people on N.Y.A. work projects in 2,120 counties in the United

States in January, 1937, shows that 18 per cent of the total amount spent went into 1,400 counties having no incorporated place over 2,500, though only 13 per cent of the total population of the United States live in these counties. All of this population is rural. While the percentage of the total amount spent in other groups of counties, classified according to the size of the incorporated places within them, is known, the division between youths living in incorporated places of 2,500 and above and those living outside of places of that size is not known. At that time, however, the purely rural counties were receiving more than their proportionate share, according to population of the total expenditure for work projects for youth, and the same may be said for the student aid program.

A more detailed analysis of 320 counties in the South Atlantic, the Middle Western, and the Southern States, selected as typical of the states in which they were located, corroborates this conclusion. Furthermore, it shows that in the counties having no incorporated center of more than 2,500, 6.4 per cent of the high school enrollment were being aided. But in counties with cities of 25,000 and above, only 3.1 per cent were being aided. In a few of the very poorest rural counties 35 to 40 per cent of all high school enrollment were receiving student aid from the National Youth Administration.

The student aid program is an outgrowth of the acceptance by the government of the responsibility for removing the economic barrier to educational opportunities on the high school level and above, for youth in low income families. The C.C.C. also has done its share in smoothing out the inequalities in general education, as has also the Federal adult education program.

Many of the rural research sociologists may be familiar with the plan whereby practical vocational training, largely in agriculture and home-making, is being made available to the lowest income group by the colleges in co-operation with the National Youth Administration. There are now some 40 educational institutions scattered in 10 states offering a course for approximately 3,300 students from farm relief families. Youths are given part-time employment on construction and farm work. Much of the work has consisted of building shops and co-operative dormitories in which the students themselves live.

Both the Federal youth programs—the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A.—in their educational and work programs have supplemented the activities

of the regular schools and our economic system, respectively. In both these directions the Federal Government assumed new responsibilities.

The United States Employment Service with the co-operation of the National Youth Administration has also been rendering vocational guidance and placement service to youth, but the efforts up to the present have been confined to the cities, though on the assumption that youth coming from the country would be helped. It is, however, extremely important that this type of service be adapted to rural needs and be definitely extended to rural areas, since through such service migration to the cities may be directed and finding a job there be taken out of the realm of chance. Experiments are now being carried on with a view to taking this service to the rural young people, which if accomplished will mean the assumption of a new responsibility by the national government.

The hardships of the last few years have brought about the widespread acceptance by the Federal Government of the obligation to youth, as well as to adults and children, to provide facilities for and guidance in recreation. The Co-operative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture has recognized this responsibility for some time in rural areas, but the emergency agencies have made possible a more adequate extension of recreational leisure-time services. That youth participated in generous proportions is indicated by an analysis of the work carried on by the recreation division of the Works Progress Administration for the week ending August 28, 1937, in the afore-mentioned 320 counties. It was found that participation-hours of persons 16 to 24 years of age were approximately 25 per cent of the total hours, though this age group comprises only between 16 and 17 per cent of the total population. In embarking on a large scale program of community organization for leisure-time activities, the government has endeavored to expand and equalize recreational opportunities throughout the country.

The experience of the Extension Service shows that many rural young people are asking that a certain portion of their recreational programs be devoted to discussions of various topics—present-day problems, foreign policy, agricultural policy, various aspects of governmental activities, etc. This desire points to a perpetual debt a democracy owes its youth, a presentation of the facts concerning our economic and social system, and the forces that have created the present problematical situations. Rural youths need to know that "Only half the farm problem is on the land. The other half is in the towns and cities, and overseas where rival nations are trying to destroy each other and avoid buying

anything from outside their own borders."³ I would not suggest that the government dictate the presentation of facts in accordance with the theory or interests of the party in power. This is the method of the totalitarian state; it cannot be the method of democracy. Youth in rural America need to know the facts concerning their own economic system with its inequality of economic opportunity, the recent trends respecting ownership and operation of farms, the facts behind the difficulty the small individual business is experiencing in obtaining even a meager profit, and conditions of poverty so widely prevalent among them, both on the farms and in some villages and other rural-nonfarm areas. The discussion technique appears to be one of the best methods of continuing education after youths leave school.

CONCLUSIONS

In order that the government may properly and efficiently discharge the responsibilities to youth which have been outlined, certain things are requisite. There must be adequate facts upon which to base policies. In the rural field the research on youth has been largely lacking in uniformity and perspective, and with a few exceptions has not been very useful either in defining problems or in guiding policy. There is a definite need for obtaining periodically certain uniform data about youth on a broad general scale, as well as representative local studies on a state basis.

From time to time policies of the National Youth Administration have been changed, usually on the basis of a few facts and many opinions. Enough facts have not been available. The rural research sociologists can perform a genuine service for youth if they will gather and interpret facts that will help make more definitive the problems of youth, so that any administrative agency may formulate its policies and execute its program on the basis of many facts and few opinions. Moreover, the sociologists of the Extension Service of the state colleges are in a peculiarly strategic position to function as integrators of all the work directed to assisting rural youth to take advantage of opportunities that may be available through state and Federal agencies.

There must, however, be a body of enlightened public opinion behind any program. The public through its elected representatives in Congress tells the administrative branch of the government what shall be done. If

³ Statement of Secretary Wallace, December 6, 1937, speaking on the National Radio Forum.

public opinion does not sanction the assumption of responsibility in certain areas of activity, then that aspect of the administrative program for youth cannot be carried out. Congress determines how far the program of any individual department or bureau of the executive branch of government shall go by controlling the purse strings. The voters and the taxpayers pretty largely determine what responsibilities to youth the government shall continue to discharge, which shall be extended, and what new responsibilities shall be assumed. They determine the relation the Federal Government will bear to rural youth in the years immediately ahead.

Social Security as a Function of Society¹

*J. H. Kolb**

ABSTRACT

In the social heritage of rural America, there is deeply graven the tradition that no one shall starve, but at the same time no one shall be allowed to depend solely upon others, without rendering some service in return for help given. In the haste accompanying the recent and vast relief, rehabilitation, and security legislation, there was feverish demand for research on a national scale. This of necessity, resulted in the collection of quantities of facts, and much description of forms and procedures, but has produced little organic thinking concerning the fundamental concepts or the deep-going process of society in crises. There is immediate need to co-ordinate our great detailed knowledge, and to relate it to life. With analysis must go synthesis and service. Along with thorough-going studies of social situations, there must go reformulation of concepts whose roots lie deep in the culture, and whose outward forms can be understood and accepted today. The entire activity of the state or society in the welfare field hinges upon the matter of the handicap. In removing handicaps, the basis of help must be one of *need* rather than one of right. The family rather than the individual should be the unit of social treatment. To preserve and to expand the traditional spirit of neighborliness, and to achieve the self-dependence of our people is the beginning and end of all public welfare and social security.

Social security is a concept growing rapidly in the current scene, but needing greatly to sink its roots into the cultural foundations of American life. In the early days of our nation concepts concerning the rights of man were translated into the political structure by men who had profound convictions that they were in line with the forces of history. "Due process," "equality before the law," "public trial," "free speech," are illustrations.² They are not defined anywhere and their meanings change, but they are concepts respecting privileges and immunities upon which Americans, and Englishmen before them, have insisted. Their foundations are in the common law. They were recognized before constitutions took written form. Their roots are deep in the culture and the mores of the people. They are made vital and vivid by such symbols as the Boston Massacre, Old South Church, Patrick

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² These and similar expressions have been traced and related to political science and social legislation by William H. Spohn, attorney, Madison, Wisconsin, chairman of the Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare.

Henry, Faneuil Hall, and Paul Revere. Together they form "fundamental principles" to which we are told in our constitution to refer frequently. They are recognized and reinterpreted by legislative bodies, and from them flow the unending pages of reasonably consistent statute law.

But what of the field of social welfare? There are concepts here also, but it does not take much scrutiny to discover that they are often hazy, unrelated or even inconsistent. Yet, how are we to cope with or even understand the many hazards to the life, liberty, and happiness of people in our modern society, unless we not only research for reliable and relevant facts, but also help to form conceptual frames of reference, within which some consensus can be secured? Is there consensus today regarding the responsibility society should assume for distressed and harassed individuals? Are we, as a people, in accord respecting a social theory which will sustain a welfare or a security program? Can we discover foundations in social concepts which will reflect the will of the majority, and thus become the basis for legislation and for group action?

In the haste accompanying the recent and vast relief, rehabilitation, and security legislation, there was feverish demand for research on a national scale. This, of necessity, resulted in the collection of quantities of facts, and much description of forms and procedures, but has produced little organic thinking concerning the fundamental concepts or the deep-going processes of society in crises. This is said not to minimize the importance of many facts and figures, but to suggest the need for better analysis, for greater search for meanings, and especially for the formulation of concepts which can be accepted as the very sills of our current social life and legislation, because they have rootage in the past and possess "reasonableness" in the present.

It is recognized, of course, that concepts concerning security and welfare are found in our social theory. Professor C. R. Henderson, in his first book on the social problems of the community, outlined policies for handling dependents, defectives, and delinquents. LePlay sought to relate the functions of the local group to maintenance of stability in the nation. Cooley summed our fundamental needs into three concepts: self-expression, appreciation, and reasonable security.

Whole theoretical systems have, in fact, been built to explain in single terms this matter of social and personal insecurity—Kropotkin, Freud, Thomas, Sorokin, Spengler, Butterfield, Tugwell—but besides being oversimplifications, they seem not to explain why security is primarily

important to one group and not to another, or why forms of security vary so widely from place to place and from time to time.

Nor should it be suggested that the principles are new upon which much of the recent welfare legislation is based. Laws for the administration of aid to indigent persons are found in the code of Hammurabi. Section 49.09 Wisconsin laws, which was adopted from the New York law, traces back directly and almost unchanged to the 300-year-old Elizabethan statutes. Still we cannot say that "alms," "the poor," and "pauperism" as interpreted by our forebears in such laws represent our present-day ideas of relief or welfare or security. Ages seem to intervene between "alms" and "welfare." Even a recital of the terms stirs up a multitude of emotions. Has any person a "right" to relief? Shall society exact labor to requite relief given? Is old-age pension (so-called) aid given because of need, or a reward for services rendered? How can we maintain the individual independence which our traditional mores have put high in the scale of values, when society, through community and national schemes, must provide for many citizens the very means of security?

In the social heritage of rural America, there is deeply graven the tradition that no one shall starve, but at the same time no one shall be allowed to depend solely upon others, without rendering some service in return for help given. How shall we exact services today from the thousands who must be helped? How shall we determine who is capable of rendering service? What kind and quantity of service shall be given? These are only some of the difficulties with which we as members of a society are now faced.

It would seem evident that we stand not only in need of facts, but also of concepts freighted with meanings from the past, which can be reinterpreted and related to current facts, and thus be made serviceable in present society. Or, in other phrases, there is immediate need to co-ordinate our great detailed knowledge, and to relate it to life. With analysis must go synthesis and service. It is therefore the thesis of this paper, that along with thorough-going studies of social situations, there must go reformulation of concepts whose roots lie deep in the culture, and whose outward forms can be understood and accepted today. This is not a discussion of division of labor among social researcher, theorist, administrator, and propagandist, but is an attempt to discover relationships of functions.

As example rather than proof of the thesis, the work of the Wis-

consin Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare appointed by Governor LaFollette in the spring of 1936, is cited:

Wisconsin, as many other states, was finally forced to admit the breakdown of its ordinary forms of social security. Its older methods and concepts of responsibility crumbled under the impact of some new and many old problems, which during recent years had become greatly aggravated. Short-time and emergency measures were tried, but it became plain that society's relation to the whole question of security must be reconsidered. Reverting to a traditional Wisconsin idea, a committee was appointed and a study launched. There was a technical and professional staff, but primary responsibility for devising programs and formulating principles of public policy rested upon this committee of citizens. Detailed studies of social conditions were made. Facts were found, analyzed, and reported, 200 pages of them. Dollar costs were employed to help comprehend and describe the scope of the problem. Here are a few relating to public assistance:

From January 1, 1931, to June 30, 1936 (five and a half years), \$342,000,000 was spent in Wisconsin, for special work programs and outdoor and allied relief activities, an average of \$65,000,000 per year, but three-fourths of this amount was spent in the last two and a half years; almost a hundred million a year.

The cost of assistance programs in 1935 exceeded the total taxes levied on property, by the state and all governmental units in that year.

Since the depression began, expenditures for assistance have exceeded the total revenues from all income taxes collected since 1911.

In 1935, 117,000 families and single persons were on direct relief or work relief; that is, one person in six was on relief.

In 1936, all of the special relief taxes collected by the state, as well as some unexpended federal funds, went to 25 counties in the state.

For the year 1938-39 the expense of old-age pensions alone will be twelve and a half millions of dollars; this is more than all of the expenses of the state and all its subdivisions in 1918.

- Members of the Citizens' Committee studied and discussed the facts assembled from published reports and records and gathered from many long days of interview and conference with local, county, and state government officials, with administrators of all manner of welfare agencies, and with many citizens. It soon became apparent that there was no escape from the necessity of interpreting what the facts mean, and of relating them to fundamental concepts. At first general observations were found to occur again and again in the several reports, and in the discussions of the various subcommittees. Finally, as the general com-

mittee sought to present findings and to propose recommendations, there came a consensus on certain principles. They emerged as definite and more compelling than the facts alone, but they were not apart from the facts. The sheer logic of the facts gave impetus and direction to thinking and to discussion, and led to the necessity for formulating objectives and relating them to recognized concepts. The members of the Committee did not and could not agree upon all the ways and means for the realization of the ends, but they could and did concur in the fundamental principles. Three will be cited here:

1. True security seeks to preserve, achieve, or regain the self-dependence of the individual.
2. If an individual suffers a handicap beyond his power to overcome, the community should assist him in his struggle toward independence.
3. Upon the security of its individual citizens rests the security of society.

It is submitted that these concepts are rooted in sound American doctrine, as interpreted in 1889 by Theodore Roosevelt when in the opening chapter of his *Winning of the West* he said,

The first lesson the backwoodsman learned was the necessity of self-help; the next, that such a community could thrive only if all joined in helping one another.

It was self-dependence and neighborliness which builded every commonwealth west of the Alleghenies. But, in a present-day interpretation of these concepts, it soon becomes evident that the entire activity of the state or society in the welfare field, whether it be the handling of those delinquent, the aiding of those dependent, or the caring for those disabled, hinges upon the matter of the handicap. This handicap may be physical or it may be mental; it may be social or it may be economic, but if it exists fairly, society has no choice but to help to correct it. If you accept this fundamental view as a guide to your thinking and acting, you will quickly realize as did members of our Committee, that real strategy is in the direction of prevention, acting affirmatively, striking at the causes of difficulties before they arise, rather than attempting to overtake them from the rear.

It must be cautioned again that a practical application of such principles is not easy. Nor can it be assumed that most citizens will come to an agreement on specific plans. In fact, it is only fair to record that members of the Committee found an almost curious lack of agreement on some detailed plans. But on the fundamentals there did come agreement, and in all of the discussions, hearings, and controversies which

followed the submission of the recommendations to the governor and the legislature, the central objectives and the fundamental concepts stood unaltered; neither were they assailed. They did help to crystallize and direct public and legislative opinion. It was *form* of organization, *formula* of relief reimbursement, or *title* of the subsection which harried the conferences and in some instances blocked action.

To complete the discussion and to round out the example, implications of the concepts and objectives set forth by the Committee will be briefly followed in three general areas of public welfare activity.

1. SOCIAL OR FAMILY WELFARE

The story of society's concern for individuals and for families in need of assistance has had a changing emphasis, but a central theme. This story of change in a real sense represents the struggle toward greater appreciation of human values, and toward a recognition that conservation of human resources is fundamental to society's future existence.

More concretely, the Committee, in order to carry out its interpretation of social security in this first area, declared the *family* to be the unit for social treatment. Its recommended organization and program were therefore built with the idea of family welfare. This is somewhat different than the emphasis given at the time of the passage of the Children's Code in 1929, when emphasis was placed upon child welfare. The Committee was convinced that, after all is considered, the main problems relating to the child finally trace back in some way to the family itself, and that a real program of social welfare must reach and involve the family.

On the theory of removing handicaps, the basis of help must be one of *need* rather than the emphasis sometimes given as that of *right* such as in a pension program. Furthermore, even an aged person can not be considered apart from his family situation.

- The Committee decided that the county should be the local administrative unit primarily responsible for social welfare and therefore recommended that a board of citizen members, with policy-making functions, be constituted to co-ordinate all agencies of family welfare within the county; that this board should appoint qualified and trained personnel in full-time arrangement where the situation warranted, to carry out the program; and that the county must make provision according to its ability for helping to finance the program, but with provision for state-wide equalization.

At the state level, the Committee emphasized and made recommendations for the co-ordination of institutional and noninstitutional care, and for providing to counties such needed specialized services which they could not hope to finance themselves. The state is obviously under obligation to work out a program of equalized care and support. One of the outstanding findings of the Committee was the vast inequalities which exist over the state with respect to public assistance and welfare services of all kinds.

The Committee maintained that the state is under further obligation to provide for a program of training for welfare employees, such training to be both professional and what is called "in-service training."

Finally, at the state level the Committee recommended that there be set up a Board of Citizens responsible for policy making and with a professional staff whose duty it should be to actually administer and execute the program. To this recommendation the recent Legislature did not give heed.

2. MENTAL HEALTH AND HYGIENE

The social security emphasis which is being urged insists that the state is conditioned by the physical and mental health of its citizens, and that an incomplete health program militates against the state itself.

In the field of mental hygiene the problems are so acute, and so much depends on early discovery and prompt treatment or training that a separate state department was recommended, and was so constituted by the recent Legislature with a citizen's policy-making board and an administrative executive and staff.

The mental health program thus far within the state has been largely an institutional one. To carry out the idea of prevention and restitution, many forms of noninstitutional service will be required. It was felt that for the time being at least this should be a separate effort, rather than an addition to the duties of the presently organized and highly competent State Board of Health.

3. DELINQUENCY AND CORRECTION

The delinquent in early times was considered a permanent social outcast. Extreme punitive measures were believed to be the only protection for society. The direction of modern thought is toward corrective measures, still having as their ultimate objective the protection of society, not through punishment but rehabilitation of the delinquent. This is

achieved by preventing delinquency from occurring, if possible; or if not, by preventing its repetition through reconditioning and re-educating the individual who becomes delinquent. This emphasis is a far cry from the theory of physical punishment or from the slogan of "law and order." To be sure, its interpretation and application into the institutional and noninstitutional practices of a state will require consummate skill and infinite patience.

The program of corrections fell into four main phases: prevention, detection, rehabilitation, and re-establishment. The Committee recommended a co-ordinated program with institutional and noninstitutional phases under a board of citizens with administrative personnel, as recommended for welfare and mental hygiene. Such a board was established by the Legislature.

The Committee recommended co-ordinated administration of the various correctional institutions with greater flexibility of transfer; in fact, one receiving unit, with more frequent study of cases, and a greater use of the indeterminate sentence.

It recommended counsellors within the various institutions who could act as personal advisors, looking not only toward parole, but to increasing the effectiveness of a within-the-institution treatment program.

It recommended that jails be utilized only for detention purposes (Wisconsin does not have an enviable record with regard to its jails, according to ratings of the Federal service); that there be an extension of noninstitutional programs with particular emphasis on probation and parole; that hospital facilities be provided, especially at the state prison; and that the after-care and re-establishment within the family and community be given major emphasis. The latter requires careful co-ordination with county programs of social and family welfare. Thus the circle is closed and the family is inevitably found at its center.

CONCLUSION

To preserve and to expand the traditional spirit of neighborliness, and to achieve the self-dependence of our people is the beginning and end of all public welfare and social security. To the founding fathers a democracy was largely confined to the political forms of government. Today we are engaged in a struggle to acquire democracy in our social and economic relationships. As Dr. Charles Beard has so well expressed it, "To speak of democracy without reference to the ways and means of life is to speak of shadows without substance."

Democracy must now be measured by the extent to which it fosters self realization and develops the capacity *and* the opportunity for human beings to achieve, individually and co-operatively, their own and therefore society's social security.

The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants¹

Edgar A. Schuler*

ABSTRACT

Social status, for the purposes of this paper, is defined as based on a hierarchic division of society into classes which differ quantitatively, qualitatively, or both, regarding: (1) social privileges received and obligations borne; (2) goods and services consumed; (3) respect received and prestige held; (4) ideology and class solidarity. An analysis of the findings reported in about 50 studies appearing since 1922, dealing chiefly with consumption data, and representing conditions in 21 states, showed that: (1) Southern tenants (not including sharecroppers) were consistently found to occupy a status lower than that of Southern owners; (2) Northern tenants, however, were not consistently found to occupy a social status lower than that of Northern owners. The findings reported in a recent Resettlement Administration study, *Social Status and Farm Tenure: Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers* dealing especially with the subjective aspects of status, tended to confirm the foregoing conclusions.

Social stratification is present to a greater or less extent in every society. Only in imaginary utopian communities does this generalization not hold true. In the rural portion of American society this stratification is most commonly expressed in terms of a hierarchy based upon the relationships of the individual to the farm land from which, directly or indirectly, his living comes.² These relationships are usually divided into those (1) involving ownership of the land, and (2) nonownership. Following census usage, owners may be subdivided into the categories of full owners and part owners. Nonowners may be separated into the categories of (a) those who rent the land and operate the farm, and

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¹ This paper was presented before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, December, 1937. Practically all the data were secured while the writer was a member of the Social Research Section of the Rural Resettlement Division, the Resettlement Administration, under Dr. Carl C. Taylor, to whom he is indebted for permission to use them in this connection. For criticisms of the manuscript, the writer is indebted to his colleagues at Louisiana State University.

² See the data on social stratification in Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Social Mobility* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1927), and in the *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1930-32, 3 vols.), by P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, both of which refer to numerous studies on the subject.

(b) those who have little or no claim on the land but, under supervision, do the manual labor on farms operated by others.³ Of these categories, attention will be confined primarily to owner operators and tenant operators. The questions to be considered in the present paper are: (a) To what extent are these classes characterized by distinct patterns of social and psychosocial traits? (b) Do they differ in social status? (c) If so, how does the social status of tenant farmers compare with that of farm owners?

It may be useful at the outset to indicate briefly the elements of the concept of social status as here used.⁴ It involves a hierarchic division of society into social classes which (1) differ both quantitatively and qualitatively in their social privileges and obligations.⁵ As every sociologist knows, these need not be legally defined in order to have real meaning. (2) The material goods and services utilized by members of the classes considered not only differ quantitatively and qualitatively, but they are consumed by varying proportions of members of these classes.⁶ (3) Associated with these objective differences is a subjective differentiation in the characteristic degree of respect, prestige, and admiration expected by and accorded to members of the several classes. (4) The more pronounced the differentiation in the foregoing respects, the greater will be the tendency for differing class ideologies to appear in, and to be generally recognized as characteristic of, the thinking of members of the several classes. To the extent, then, that the farm tenure categories exhibit differences with respect to these four characteristics of social status, to that extent are they to be regarded as constituting genuine social classes, each possessing a distinct social status.

³ It should be pointed out that from a sociological point of view this latter type of distinction, viz., that between those who operate farms and those who do not, may be even more significant than that between owners and nonowners.

⁴ See the various relevant articles and bibliographies in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, Macmillan, 1930-35, 15 vols.), such as those on "Status," "Class consciousness," "Class," "Caste," and "Social mobility."

⁵ See the stimulating analysis by Sorokin in his monumental work, *Cultural And Social Dynamics* (New York, American Book Company, 1937, 3 vols.), III, 18-21. On the too little recognized "obligations" aspect of high social status, see the data under "Social Contributions" in T. J. Woofert, Jr., "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph 5*, Washington, 1936, pp. 31-33, and 204-5.

⁶ See the exhaustive annotated and analytical bibliography by Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman, "Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries: An Analysis of Material and Method," United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 223*, Washington, 1935.

This concept of status in a system of classes should be clearly differentiated from that in a caste system.⁷ In the former situation, membership in the upper class is open to, and is often successfully sought by, members of the lower classes.⁸ But whether or not these upward strivings are successful, there is a widespread similarity of ambition, of objective, and of desire for the privileges, prestige, and material benefits of upper-class membership.

II

In terms of the concept just presented, what do recent investigations show regarding the social status of farm tenants as compared with that of farm owners?⁹ To answer this question an analysis was made of about 50 recent publications (with one exception, none appearing earlier than 1922) reporting on investigations confined to a single state, and containing quantitative tenure class comparisons.¹⁰ For purposes of

⁷ For a good treatment of the classic example of caste, one which adequately shows the complexities of the phenomenon, see *Caste in India*, by Emile Senart (London, Methuen and Company, 1930, a translation from the original French by Sir E. Denison Ross)

⁸ In the bibliography issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics entitled *Farm Tenancy in the United States*, 1918-36 (Washington, U S Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economics Bibliography No 70, 1937), see the numerous references under the topic, "Agricultural Ladder," of which the studies by W. J. Spillman especially deserve attention.

⁹ It was thought best to confine the discussion to the United States because the nature of farm tenancy varies widely in the Western European countries alone, to say nothing of those countries for which data are less easily available to the American student.

¹⁰ W. A. Anderson, "Farm Living Among White Owner and Tenant Operators in Wake County," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 269 (Raleigh, 1929), John D. Black and Carle C. Zimmerman, "Family Living on Successful Minnesota Farms," Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 240 (St. Paul, 1927), Sara A. Brown, "Children Working in the Sugar Beet Fields of Certain Districts of the South Platte Valley, Colorado," National Child Labor Committee, *Publication* No. 333 (New York, 1925); W. V. Dennis, "Organizations Affecting Farm Youth in Locust Township, Columbia County," Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 265 (State College, 1931), Perry P. Denune, "The Social and Economic Relations of the Farmers with the Towns in Pickaway County, Ohio," Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, *Bulletin* 5 (Columbus, 1927), O. D. Duncan and J. T. Sanders, "A Study of Certain Economic Factors in Relation to Social Life Among Oklahoma Cotton Farmers," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 211 (Stillwater, 1933); Margaret Fedde and Ruth Lindquist, "A Study of Farm Families and Their Standards of Living in Selected Districts of Nebraska, 1931-33," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 78 (Lincoln, 1935), Mary E. Frayser, "A Study of Expenditures for Family Living by 46 South Carolina Rural Families," South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 299 (Clemson, 1934); Ruth C. Freeman and M. Attie Souder, "Living Expenditures of a Selected Group of Illinois Farm and Small Town Families (1929-30)," Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 372 (Urbana, 1931), L. P. Gabbard, "An Agricultural Economic Survey of Rockwall County, Texas," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 327 (College Station, 1925), Charles E. Gibbons, "Child Labor Among Cotton

analysis the 21 states represented were divided into two broad regional groups: the Southern, including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas; and the

Growers of Texas," National Child Labor Committee, *Publication No. 324* (New York, 1925); Irma H. Gross and M. R. Bosworth, "Insurance of Farm Families," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 133* (East Lansing, 1933); Lewis H. Haney and George S. Wehrwein (editors), "A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County," University of Texas, *Bulletin No. 65* (Austin, 1916); Randall C. Hill, E. L. Morgan, Mabel V. Campbell, and O. R. Johnson, "Social, Economic, and Homemaking Factors in Farm Living," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 148* (Columbia, 1930); C. Horace Hamilton, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Farm Families in North Carolina," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin 309* (Raleigh, 1937); L. D. Howell, "The Relations of Economic, Social, and Educational Advancement of Farmers to Their Membership in Organizations," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 185* (Stillwater, 1929); E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming," New York Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 423* (Ithaca, 1923); E. L. Kirkpatrick and J. A. Dickey, "Living Conditions and Family Living in Farm Homes of Schoharie County, New York," U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and New York State College of Agriculture, *Mimeographed Preliminary Report* (Washington, 1925); E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Housing Conditions Among 947 White Farm Families of Selected Localities of Texas," *Preliminary Report* (Washington, 1926); E. L. Kirkpatrick, J. H. Kolb, Inge Creagh, A. F. Wileden, "Rural Organizations and the Farm Family," Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station co-operating with U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin 96* (Madison, 1929); E. L. Kirkpatrick, P. E. McNall, and May L. Cowles, "Farm Family Living in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station co-operating with U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin 114* (Madison, 1933); W. F. Kumlén, "What Farmers Think of Farming," South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin 223* (Brookings, 1927); Ellen LeNoir and T. Lynn Smith, "Rural Housing in Louisiana," Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 290* (University, 1937); C. E. Lively, "Family Living Expenditures on Ohio Farms," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 468* (Wooster, 1930); Charles P. Loomis, "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 298* (Raleigh, 1934); T. C. McCormick, "Farm Standards of Living in Faulkner County, Arkansas," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 279* (Fayetteville, 1932); T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in Washington County, Arkansas," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 285* (Fayetteville, 1933); T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 296* (Fayetteville, 1933); T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in South-Central Arkansas," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin 313* (Fayetteville, 1934); J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Homes," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin 191* (Lincoln, 1923); J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Tenancy," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin 196* (Lincoln, 1923); J. O. Rankin, "Cost of Feeding the Nebraska Farm Family," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 219* (Lincoln, 1927); J. O. Rankin, "The Use of Time in Farm Homes," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 230* (Lincoln, 1928); J. O. Rankin, "Housing and House Operation Costs on Nebraska Farms," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 264* (Lincoln, 1931); J. O. Rankin and Eleanor H. Hinman, "A Summary of the Standard of Living in Nebraska Homes," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 267* (Lincoln, 1932); Margaret G. Reid, "Status of Farm Housing in Iowa," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, *Research Bulletin 174* (Ames, 1935);

Northern, including New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Colorado.

Generally speaking, these studies present data bearing on but two of the four criteria of social status previously indicated. That is, while most of the reports give information about the goods that people consume, or about their social participation, very few attempt to throw any light on the subjective aspects of social status.¹¹ The findings from

Jessie E. Richardson, "The Quality of Living in Montana Farm Homes," Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 260 (Bozeman, 1932); Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936); J. T. Sanders, "Farm Ownership and Tenancy in the Black Prairie of Texas," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin* 1068 (Washington, 1922); J. T. Sanders, "The Economic and Social Aspects of Mobility of Oklahoma Farmers," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 195 (Stillwater, 1929); Emilie W. Stevens and H. Estabrook, "North Carolina Farm Housing," North Carolina Experiment Station and North Carolina Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin* 301 (Raleigh, 1935); Lucy A. Studely, "Relationship of the Farm Home to the Farm Business," Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 279 (St. Paul, 1931); Carl C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, 1923; E. D. Tetreau, "Farm Family Participation in Lodges, Farm Bureau, Four-H Clubs, School and Church," Ohio State University and Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeographed Bulletin* 29 (Columbus, 1930); E. D. Tetreau, "Farm Equipment for Communication and Household Convenience as Found on 610 Farms, Madison and Union Counties, Ohio," Ohio State University and Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeographed Bulletin* 30 (Columbus, 1931); J. F. Thaden, "Standard of Living on Iowa Farms," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin* 238 (Ames, 1926); Howard A. Turner and L. D. Howell, "Condition of Farmers in a White-Farmer Area of the Cotton Piedmont," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Circular* 78 (Washington, 1929); G. H. Von Tungeln, E. L. Kirkpatrick, C. R. Hoffer, and J. F. Thaden, "The Social Aspects of Rural Life and Farm Tenantry in Cedar County, Iowa," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin* 217 (Ames, 1923); G. H. Von Tungeln, J. F. Thaden, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Cost of Living on Iowa Farms," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 237 (Ames, 1926); Mary B. Willeford, *Income and Health in Remote Rural Areas: A Study of 400 Families in Leslie County, Kentucky* (Frontier Nursing Service: New York, 1932); B. O. Williams, "Occupational Mobility Among Farmers," South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 296 (Clemson, 1934).

Data from E. L. Kirkpatrick's "The Farmer's Standard of Living," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin* No. 1466 (Washington, 1926), and from the study of T. J. Woolfer, Jr., cited above, were not included because their broad territorial scope created difficulties in the comparison of the findings. Harold Hoffsommer's "Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama," Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, *Research Bulletin, Series II, No. 9* (Washington, 1935), and W. D. Nicholl's "Farm Tenancy in Central Kentucky," Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* No. 303 (Lexington, 1930), both of which contain useful data on tenants, landlords, and their relationships, yielded no comparisons between owners and tenants.

¹¹ The most notable exception is the study of Haney and Wehrwein in which "... an attempt was made to ascertain whether people thought that there were 'social classes' in

individual studies were grouped by subject matter and classified on the basis of consistency into one of several categories ¹²

The first category consists of those items regarding which the owner, consistently throughout both South and North, is reported to be relatively better off than the tenant. To say that owners are "better off" in

the country and what they considered the basis for such social inequality other than the reasons mentioned

'The questions asked to bring out these points were as follows: Any social inequalities or classes? What basis? Wealth, education, tenant vs owner, religion, others. The tenants feel that wealth and being a tenant places people in social classes more so than the owners. Many, however, said, Our landlord is as common as we are. Religious dissensions and superior education were mentioned by a few

¹² It was occasionally necessary to rework some of the basic data to permit comparisons of the type desired. In the cases where more than one of the publications was based on a single field investigation the attempt was made to count a specific finding but once. The rules in accordance with which the findings were classified are as follows:

- 1 Each individual finding was counted as a unit (given a value of 1) and classified as 'plus' (+) if the figure representing owners' consumption or participation was larger than that for tenants' consumption or participation, it was classified as 'minus' (-) if the reverse relationship held true, and it was classified as zero (0) if the tenure difference seemed insignificant (e.g., less than one per cent).
- 2 With very few exceptions a finding was included in the table here presented only if data were available from at least two Southern and two Northern studies.
- 3 These topics or findings on which there were adequate data were classified into one of the following categories on the basis of consistency of the relative standing of the tenure classes within the two regions considered:
 - a North, consistently plus, South, consistently plus (Table I, Category 1)
 - b North, consistently plus, South, consistently minus (Table I, Category 4)
 - c North, consistently minus, South, consistently plus (Table I, Category 5)
 - d North, consistently minus, South, consistently minus (Table I, Category 6)
 - e North, inconsistent, South, consistently plus (Table I, Category 2)
 - f North, consistently plus, South, inconsistent (no findings fell in this category, hence it does not appear in Table I)
 - g North, inconsistent, South, consistently minus (Table I, Category 7)
 - h North, consistently minus, South, inconsistent (Table I, Category 8)
 - i North, inconsistent, South, inconsistent (Table I, Category 3)
- 4 Classification of a topic as consistent or inconsistent was based upon the preponderance of evidence, rather than in accordance with a strict interpretation of consistent as involving all plus or all minus findings without any exception. The factors considered, where a topic was classified as consistent in spite of individual findings to the contrary, were as follows:
 - a The higher the ratio of findings of one type to those of other types, the less weight was attached to the inconsistent finding.
 - b The fewer the number of cases involved in the investigation yielding inconsistent results, the less weight was attached to the inconsistent finding.
 - c Method of sampling was sometimes significant where strictly random sample or complete enumerations were attempted findings were regarded as more significant than if such was not known to be the case.
- 5 With the exception of a few studies which failed to disclose the precise meaning of the tenure class terms used, the tenure comparisons are based on figures for full owner operators and tenant operators.

this connection means merely that relatively more owners than tenants consume a specified good, tangible or intangible, or that owners consume relatively more of a good than do tenants

The second category contains those items which are consistently reported on in the South (owners always being in a more favorable position than tenants), but which in the North are not consistently reported on, i e., in the North sometimes owners and sometimes tenants are in the better relative position

The third category consists of those findings in which both Southern and Northern investigators report no consistent tenure differences

The fourth category is that in which owners in the North are consistently better off than tenants, but in the South the reverse relationship holds good

Fifth is a finding in which the figure for tenants is consistently larger than that for owners in the North, whereas the reverse relationship holds true in the South

The only item in the sixth category may have but little bearing on social status but it is included for the sake of completeness. This item is the only one regarding which, both in the South and in the North, the findings are consistently to the effect that the figure for tenants is larger than that for owners

Seventh are those topics regarding which, in the South, consistently larger figures appear for tenants than for owners, but in the North inconsistency is found

The last category consists of a single item regarding which Southern findings are inconsistent, but Northern findings regularly show the figure for tenants to exceed that for owners

TABLE I
NUMBERS OF STUDIES REPORTING OWNERS TO BE BETTER OFF THAN
TENANTS (+), THE SAME AS TENANTS (0), OR WORSE OFF THAN
TENANTS (-), FOR SPECIFIED ITEMS, BY REGIONS

ITEM	North			South		
	+	0	-	+	0	-
Category 1						
a Value of food produced on the farm	5	1	0	6	0	1
b Value of house rental	8	0	1	3	0	0
c Number of rooms per house or relative space per member of household or family	8	0	1	10	1	0
d Value of fuel produced on farm	2	0	0	3	0	0
e Per cent reporting electric or gas lights	9	0	0	6	0	0
f Per cent reporting furnace	11	0	0	2	2	0
g Per cent reporting running water in house	11	0	0	6	0	0
h Per cent reporting piano	5	0	1	3	0	0
i Per cent reporting radio	6	0	0	1	1	0

TABLE I—CONTINUED

ITEM	North			South		
	+	0	-	+	0	-
j Size of expenditures for "advancement," including "education"	9	0	1	3	0	0
k Per cent subscribing to newspaper	5	1	0	6	0	0
l Number of books owned or purchased within a specified period	2	0	0	4	0	0
m Size of expenditures for recreation and social purposes	2	0	0	3	1	0
n Size of contributions to church and/or charity	6	0	0	4	0	0
o Size of net cash income	6	0	0	3	0	0
p Per cent participating in religious organization (based on membership or attendance)	8	0	1	4	0	0
q Per cent holding office in private organization or having held public office	3	0	0	2	0	0
Category 2						
a Total value of food consumed	3	0	4	2	0	0
b Size of expenditures for clothing	6	0	3	5	0	1*
c Size of expenditures for household equipment	5	0	3	2	0	0
d Per cent reporting telephones	6	3	1	7	0	0
e Per cent reporting window screening	5	2	0	4	0	0
f Per cent reporting washing machine	4	1	2	5	0	0
g Per cent reporting refrigerator	1	0	1	6	0	0
h Per cent reporting life insurance	4	0	2	3	0	0
i Per cent subscribing to farm journals	3	1	1	5	0	0
j Per cent subscribing to periodicals other than farm or religious journals	3	1	1	3	0	0
k Years of public education received	2	1	4	5	0	1
l Per cent reporting automobile	6	1	4	8	0	1
m Gross income	2	0	2	6	0	0
n Total reported expenditures	7	0	3	4	0	1
o Per cent participating in all types of formally organized groups	1	1	1	2	0	0
Category 3						
a Size of expenditures for food	4	0	4	2	0	3
b Per cent reporting sewing machine	1	0	1	2	0	1
c Size of expenditures for health	8	0	2	1	0	2
d Size of personal expenditures	4	1	2	2	1	0
e Per cent participating in Sunday School	2	0	2	1	1	0
f Per cent participating in men's fraternal organization†	5	1	1	1	0	1
Category 4						
a Per cent reporting phonograph	3	0	0	0	0	2
Category 5						
a Per cent participating in all formally organized nonreligious groups‡	0	1	2	2	0	0
Category 6						
a Per cent that value of purchased food is of all food consumed	0	0	3	0	0	3
Category 7						
a Relative frequency of attendance at parties or dances	2	0	1	0	0	3
b Relative frequency of attendance at moving pictures	2	0	2	0	0	2
Category 8						
a Relative frequency of social visiting	0	0	4	1	0	1

*According to the text of the report on which this finding is based, the size of owner's expenditures is greater than that of tenants' expenditures. On the strength of the figures appearing in a table accompanying the text, however, the finding was classified as "minus."

†Findings from only one Southern investigation are presented, but these show inconsistent tenure differences, there being relatively more owner participants in one lodge, and more tenant participants in another organization of the same type.

‡One Northern study has been counted twice because its findings on this point differ, depending upon whether membership or attendance is used as the criterion of participation.

||One Northern study is counted twice, the findings being "plus" on the basis of attendance at parties, but "minus" on the basis of attendance at dances.

Tenure class differences with respect to the consumption of goods and services among Southern colored farmers¹³ on the whole seem to follow those reported among Southern white farmers. Since the available data are limited it has been thought unnecessary to present them. The most significant race difference is with regard to income, both gross and net, white owners consistently being reported as receiving the larger income, whereas this is not consistently true of Negro owners.

III

In the course of the past two years a study entitled "The Social Correlatives of Farm Tenure" was made by the Resettlement Administration. This study was intended, among other things, to supplement available data on the topic here considered by emphasis on the subjective aspects of the problem, i.e., on farmers' attitudes and opinions.¹⁴ Some of the questions raised, and the returns yielded, may now be taken up. It should be pointed out that the data presented from this study unavoidably involve croppers and farm laborers as well as owners and renters. The area involved by the term "Northern" in this connection is restricted to the Corn Belt.

(1) The first question is one that was directed at farm owners: "Do you feel better off, from a business point of view, as a farm owner than you did before you became one?" Consistently, among Negroes and whites, in the South and the North, and by large majorities they say they feel better off as owners than they did before they became owners.

(2) The second question was asked of all nonowners: "Do you think you would feel better off if you owned this farm, but had a mortgage on it?" The majority of Southern nonowners reply that, even with mortgages, they would feel better off as owners. But the majority of

¹³ In the list of studies utilized, see those by Gabbard, Hamilton, Haney and Wehrwein, LeNoir and Smith, Raper, and Taylor and Zimmerman. See also two studies dealing exclusively with colored farmers: Donald D. Scarborough, "An Economic Study of Negro Farmers as Owners, Tenants and Croppers," University of Georgia, *Bulletin No. 376* (Athens, 1924), and W. S. Scarborough, "Tenancy and Ownership Among Negro Farmers in Southampton County, Virginia," United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Bulletin 1404* (Washington, 1926).

¹⁴ Complete schedule enumeration of farm families living in small block sample areas was attempted in four Corn Belt, and in eight Cotton Belt, states. In each state the cooperative assistance of agricultural experiment station officials was solicited and secured. Altogether over 2,400 schedules were taken, about 700 in the North, and the remainder from white and Negro farmers in the South. The field agents and supervisors of enumeration were born and reared in the regions in which they worked. In the effort to assure validity in the subjective data, exclusively colored schedule takers and supervisors were employed for interviewing Negro farmers in the South.

Northern nonowners, on the contrary, think they would *not* feel better off as mortgaged owners.

(3) Nonowners' replies to the question, "Do you think owners generally feel better off than renters?" disclose the fact that Northern nonowners are much less certain, relatively, than Southern nonowners, that farm ownership represents for them an unmixed blessing.

(4) "Are you seriously looking forward to owning a farm?" Southern renters, both white and colored, more frequently than those in the North, say "Yes," they are seriously looking forward to owning a farm.

(5) Nonowners who stated that they would like to buy some farm other than the one they were living on at that time were asked this question, "Would you want any help or advice in finding a suitable farm?" Nearly twice as large a proportion of Negro farmers as white Southern farmers say they would want such help or advice. Similar responses follow this question: "Would you want any advice from your creditor in running your farm?"

(6) All informants, regardless of tenure status, were confronted with the following statement and question: "The number of farm tenants in the United States has been increasing for a good many years. Do you think the government ought to do anything about it?" Although Negro farmers give affirmative responses more often than white farmers in the South, and although Southern farmers give affirmative responses more often than do Northern farmers, consistent tenure differences appear: Renters say "Yes," they think the government ought to do something about the increase of farm tenancy relatively more often than do owners.

(7) "If you had your choice, what would you prefer to have a son do for a living?" Among Negro farmers, both owners and renters, the majority say they would rather have their sons choose occupations other than farming; among Southern white farmers, likewise, less than half of owners and renters would prefer their sons to be farmers. Northern farmers most often respond that they have no preference, i.e., they say, "I would leave it up to him to decide for himself"; but of those specifying occupations, the majority prefer farming.

(8) If the informant expressed a preference for farming as the occupation desired for his son, he was asked whether he would prefer the son to be a farm owner. Overwhelming proportions, regardless of region or race, answer this question in the affirmative.

(9) Consistent tenure differences appear in response to the next question, however, which was asked only when preference was expressed

by the informant for farm ownership for his son: "Do you think the government ought to help him to become a farm owner?" In each comparison owners favor such assistance less often, relatively, than do renters or other nonowners. Racial and regional differences also appear, for the tenure differences in proportions of favorable responses are greatest in the North, smaller among Southern whites, and smallest among Negro farmers.

(10) "Compared with the average family in this neighborhood, do you think your family is better off, about the same as the average, or worse off? If different from the average, in what respects?" A larger proportion of owners than renters among Northern, Southern white, and Negro farmers say that they think their families, as compared with the average in their neighborhood, are "better off." Owners most frequently say that they are better off because of their ownership of, or possession of an equity in, a farm, farm land, or a home. The proportions specifying such factors are smallest in the North, larger among Southern whites, and largest among Negroes, thus again revealing regional and racial differences.

(11) "What class of people around here do you think is worst off? What do you think causes them to be worst off?" The members of each tenure class mention their own tenure class more frequently than any other as the class of people thought to be worst off. Agreement in answering these questions is closest, however, among farm laborers, less complete among croppers, still less complete among renters, and lowest among owners. Fewer Northern than Southern farmers give a definite response of any kind.

Another approach to the general question of social significance of tenure status may be made through the data on intra- and inter-tenure class marriages. In brief, although the tendency for farmers to marry into families of their own tenure class appears to be a significant one, in each of the three racial and regional groups of farmers considered, it is most consistent and most pronounced among Southern white farmers.

The findings in five out of six investigations reporting on tenure differences in frequency of social visiting show that tenants go visiting more frequently than owners.¹⁵ But little is known about the relationship of such contacts to tenure class of the family visited. In the study now under consideration, accordingly, about one-fifth of the total number of families interviewed were asked to indicate those families with

¹⁵ See Table I, category 8.

whom most frequent social contact took place during the schedule year. In each of the three racial and regional groups owners most frequently mention other owners' families as those with whom they have most frequent contact. Likewise, renter families are named most frequently by informants who are renters.

An even more intimate type of contact, and probably more significant as an index of social status, is the exchange of hospitality involving eating meals together. Among Southern white owners this type of contact is found to take place more frequently with nonfarm families than with other owner or with tenant families.¹⁶ Negro owners, on the other hand, exchange meals most frequently with other Negro owners' families. Northern owners report such contact least often with owners' families, the frequency rate being greater both for tenant and for nonfarm families. Southern white tenants exchange meals with other tenants' and with owners' families with about equal frequencies. Negro tenants exchange meals more frequently with laborers' families than with those of other tenant classes. Northern tenants are guests for meals most often at the homes of other tenants, and they play the rôle of host most often to nonfarm families, more often, in fact, than they are entertained by these nonfarm families. Southern tenants, on the contrary, not only entertain nonfarm families for meals less often than they are entertained by the latter, but this type of contact represents relatively a much smaller proportion of all their contacts than is true of Northern tenants. The significance of these findings, based as they are on very small numbers, can easily be exaggerated. But they suggest a rôle of independence on the part of Northern tenants which contrasts with a rôle of dependence on the part of Southern tenants, and point again to basic regional differences in the significance of tenure class.

IV

What is the net result of this inquiry regarding the social status of farm tenants? The following conclusions seem to be justified.

1. With respect to each of the four criteria suggested, significant tenure class differences do exist. Not only with regard to the consump-

¹⁶ It should be understood that contact of this type takes place invariably with members of the same race. With infinitesimal exceptions, visiting, likewise, was reported as taking place only with members of the same race. In view of the small numbers of cases available for analysis, Northern croppers were included with renters in the "tenant" category for the social interaction comparisons. The other categories were "owners," "farm laborers," and "nonfarm families."

tion of certain goods, and participation in certain types of formally and informally organized social life, but in the prestige held, and in the social and economic ideologies expressed, these differences have been found.

2. No less significant, however, are the regional variations with respect to these tenure class differences. In general, the implications of farm tenure class in the South are considerably different from those of farm tenure class in the North.

3. The preponderance of evidence seems to demonstrate conclusively that the social status of Southern white tenants is lower than that of Southern white owners.

4. The social status of Northern tenants, on the contrary, has not been conclusively demonstrated to be lower than that of Northern owners.

5. The limited data regarding Southern Negro farmers suggest tenure differences smaller in degree but similar in type to those found among Southern white farmers.¹⁷

6. Pronounced race differences exist, however, not only with respect to the consumption of goods and services, but especially with respect to attitudes, opinions, beliefs and aspirations.

7. Finally, regional and racial diversities in the implications of tenure status seem to outweigh in significance those similarities of implication which do exist.

V

Although it would be possible to consider the whole gamut of significant social factors—e.g., historical, geographical, biological, psychological, economic, and other cultural influences, in attempting to explain or account for these phenomena, only four considerations will be advanced.

In the first place, the Corn Belt is a region more recently settled than much of the Cotton Belt. Social stratification in the North in a few generations may become much more significant than it appears to be at the present time.

¹⁷ Although it has been impossible to present the evidence in this brief paper, an analysis was made of the data on Negro tenure differences appearing in the studies cited in footnote 16. See also the forthcoming preliminary report of the study dealt with in Part III of this paper under the title, "Social Status and Farm Tenure," United States Department of Agriculture, the Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, *Social Research Report No. IV*, by the present writer, in which especial attention is paid to racial and regional variations in tenure differences.

Second, there are much larger proportions of "owners-in-prospect," to use Galpin's apt expression, among Northern than among Southern tenants. This factor tends to modify seriously the significance of sociological tenure class comparisons both within the North and when Northern tenure differences are compared with those in other regions. Tenancy does not exist in a social vacuum, but is powerfully influenced by the nature of the social bonds, the relationships, of tenant to landlord, other than those of a purely economic or legal nature. This is particularly obvious in the case of large-scale forms of agriculture. As the third factor, then, may be pointed out the early appearance of the plantation in the South and its subsequent diffusion to suitable areas throughout the region.

Closely related to the plantation there is, finally, the system of mores and folkways characterizing the biracial Southern population, a system which amounts practically to the caste form of social organization. Its functioning has apparently served not only to depress the height of the social pyramid among Negro farmers, and to intensify the competition between lower tenure class members of both castes, but to emphasize tenure class differences among white farmers in the South.

Trends in Extension Sociology¹

*Howard W. Beers**

ABSTRACT

Rural sociology should be an integral part of the extension structure, not merely an accessory. Its chief obligation to extension work is to help orient the whole program. The trend in extension work from solitary activity of specialists to a group or clinical approach provides a new opportunity to make this contribution. Rural sociology should contribute also some of its careful research attitudes and analytical methods to extension work. Finally, rural sociology, in co-operation with other fields should approach the solution of what laymen call "social problems."

This paper is neither a report of research nor in any sense a formal proposal. Its argument claims no authority but the writer's present judgment. Chiefly a personal exercise in professional adjustment, it represents an effort to think analytically in a field of controversy. Prepared as a statement to fellow rural sociologists, rather than to extension administrators or to workers in other fields, it is read only to help clarify issues, and to stimulate the discussion from which tentative agreement may develop.

The Co-operative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics is a farm, home, and community representative of the agricultural colleges. Now only in its late twenties it has a widespread and well-established structure. Its success is generally recognized and public opinion considers it to have passed some time ago the period of experimental development. Legislative creation in 1914 of the extension service preceded by one year publication of the first experiment station research bulletin in rural sociology. While the extension service has penetrated nearly every agricultural county of our nation, rural sociological research has grown to respectable proportions. During the same period rural sociology has acquired status as an academic discipline. Still more recently, however, a handful of "specialists" in rural sociology have been treading new ground within the extension service, working in

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mingled confidence and uncertainty. Gradually they have been clarifying their own purposes and testing various ways of relating their work to other extension activity. Historically, the problem of professional adjustment in extension sociology has existed for so short a time it can hardly yet be identified.

However, as efforts to test and clarify proceed, it is important to consider two possible but opposite conceptions of extension work. First, there is the assumption of a static extension structure in which a certain permanence of organization and program has been achieved, in which institutionalization has already occurred and in which change is unlikely. On the basis of this assumption rural sociology can become no more than an adjunct or an accretion to the structure, and an extension sociologist's job analysis is quickly reduced to such questions as this: "What specific details belong in a plan of work for my project?" or "How can I fit the traditional rôle of extension specialist, keeping my program distinct from other extension programs, yet working effectively to improve human relationships in rural life?"

However, there is a second possible assumption from which we are much more likely to think constructively. It is the assumption of a flexible extension structure which, though well-established, is young enough to change with reasonable ease and speed. Of course, adjustment is not to be expected without changes in underlying needs and surrounding pressures, but such changes in setting are evident. New and emergent agricultural skills outmode the old. The position of the individual farmer changes with respect to the rest of society. Pressure group struggles strain the working techniques of democracy, and portend unpredictable redistributions of social control. Demands for adult education run through the whole social structure, notably labor groups and the urban middle classes. Certainly change is more probable than permanence.

The assumption of flexibility is, therefore, more realistic than that of rigidity. Yet we extension sociologists seem not always to state our problem in terms of the realistic assumption. Wanting to be practical we are likely to become absorbed in immediate program details before we have made peace with a more fundamental question, namely, that of determining what sociology should contribute to extension education. Wanting to be practical we take the extension structure "as is" and work to fit ourselves into its traditional pattern.

With reference to soils, crops, or livestock one can be more obviously practical than with reference to social organization. We should by all

means retain our wish to be practical, but we should not let seeming frustration of this wish leave us with a complex of professional inferiority that is manifest in some form of overcompensation. We expose ourselves to this difficulty when we accept the judgment of workers in other fields as to what is a practical sociology program. The problem of how to be practical in sociology may not be soluble in the same terms as the parallel problem in, for example, poultry husbandry. At any rate, the first task is to select a job about which to be practical. If we assume a static extension structure, our range of selection is too limited. By thinking from the assumption of flexibility, however, we can phrase our problem differently. We can think of rural sociology not merely as an integer, but as a possible integral; not as an accessory, but as a possible guiding influence. Sooner or later, of course, we will arrive at the question of what, specifically, must be done today and tomorrow, but first we are free to ask how sociology can help the extension service to improve rural life. This question merits first attention and its answer must precede any formulation of a specialist's program.

In determining our contribution to extension work, we can give less attention to interscholastic debates about the nature and scope of sociology than might have been thought necessary a few years ago. There are many definitions of sociology, but they have a least common denominator in the concept of relationships among people, or interhuman relationships. It is interesting and important to note that our current rural sociology appraisal committee gave no space to arguments over definition, and in his recent discussion of "Sociology on the Spot," Carl C. Taylor deplored such debate.

I

The chief obligation of sociology to extension work is (in co-operation with sister fields) to give it orientation. However, within the current year Wileden has noted a tendency for extension administrators and even extension sociologists "to regard rural sociology as a technique or limited area of activity, such as the group discussion method or work with the older youth group."

A similar observation was made in the 1932 Social Science Research Monograph on *Rural Sociological Adult Education in the United States*. In contributing to this monograph, Hummel wrote the following statement of caution: "If the program of extension in rural sociology is considered simply as another specialized service bearing the same rela-

tionship to the other phases of the extension program and the condition of rural life that poultry, dairy, or horticulture bear to each other or to the program in general then the concept of sociology . . . has been lost sight of and a specialized service program masquerades in the name of the science of human society."

If, as Taylor says, sociology is now on the spot, extension sociology is doubly on the spot because of this restricted interpretation of our job. It is an interpretation made largely by laymen in sociology, but it seems to have secured wide acquiescence among those of us who are sociologists by profession.

Looking backward over the development of the Co-operative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, we recall that during the first years emphasis was on efficient production. Economic questions, especially production costs, then marketing received later consideration. Recently social issues have been recognized. A gradual tendency toward shift in orientation of the whole extension program is apparent. The importance of what laymen call 'the human factors' or "human values" or "the human problems" of agriculture now can be talked about, even in the presence of production-cost experts and soil fertility specialists. The word "sociology" can be used in conversation with laymen. Giving the whole extension structure orientation, keeping it in gear with the social structure is then the first responsibility of sociology, working in team with economics and psychology.

It is not hard to demonstrate that most extension activity occurs in a social environment, involves manipulation of interhuman relationships, and thus impinges upon or actually enters the field of rural sociology. A sample of six episodes drawn from extension work in one state during the last year is offered as illustration.

One extension worker sits in committee with five State Grange lecturers to help work out a lecturer's conference program.

A second worker meets with the board of directors of a co-operative auction market to advise with them on membership relations.

A third worker confers with several representatives of rural organizations about arrangements for a discussion group program.

A fourth worker outlines the program for a three-day extension short course in social development.

A fifth worker arranges plans for a four-day recreation institute.

A sixth worker discusses organization problems at a conference of local leaders.

The list might be continued at length with similar selected activities of other extension workers, but a riddle may now be stated: Which of

these six workers is the extension rural sociologist? Perhaps you have guessed that he is not listed. The individuals mentioned are in order: the state director of extension, a marketing specialist, a farm management specialist, a parent education specialist, a county home demonstration agent, a county agricultural agent.

For any one activity such as those listed, the extension worker needs an approach in which economic, psychological, and sociological knowledge and experiences are well integrated. It can be said that the method and content of rural sociology are pertinent to every such activity, without proposing that every such activity be reserved for a rural sociologist.

II

Within this changing orientation of extension work there is an element of prophecy that clinical activity among staff workers may supersede the solitary functioning of specialists. Channelized project activity on the part of any specialist may become increasingly the exception and not the rule. There are several fields of extension activity that already resist confinement.

Agricultural engineering, for example, reaches into the projects of many subject matter specialists. The agricultural engineering specialist helps home management people arrange kitchens and hold equipment clinics; he plans barns with the dairy specialist, brooding equipment with the poultry specialist, machinery with the agronomists, spray equipment with the fruit specialist.

Child training and parent education are activity fields that merge sociology and psychology, and that relate definitely to many extension activities. The attitude of a father who owns grade cattle toward a 4-H club boy who wants a purebred calf illustrates the point. Even parent education and agricultural engineering may come together if a boy's use of sharp tools brings him up against parental displeasure. The nutritionist's problem of food dislikes, the clothing specialist's problem of recommending homemade garments for a socially timid daughter—these things come into parent education.

Marketing furnishes another illustration. The marketing specialist finds himself working with the farm management specialist, the vegetable specialist, the agronomist, the nutritionist, and the agricultural engineering specialist on one problem. Consumer attitudes, selection of a marketable variety, alterations of grading machinery, balance in the farm enterprise, use of fertilizers—all are involved. If low cost pro-

duction involves the use of unpaid family labor, perhaps even the parent education specialist is not outside the problem. If co-operative marketing is under consideration, there are problems involved that are more than just matters of economic organization.

Perhaps the day of the specialist gives way already to the day of the clinic, and the extension staff is to function more and more groupwise with an integrated program. Here and there it is being suggested seriously that there should be extension psychologists to co-ordinate all of extension activity, and particularly to train extension teachers. Here and there it is being recommended that, since the family remains central to rural life, an extension parent-educator or family-life specialist should be the co-ordinator of many extension activities. Here and there among economists it is being said that there are many farm management men, many marketing men, many research methodologists, many economic statisticians, many commodity experts, but there is a dearth of general economists with an integrated point of view. Many signs then point to increase in group or integrated activity on the part of extension workers. In this trend, is there not new need for the sociologist, who can lead in identifying and interpreting problem situations and can help to organize and point extension efforts at problem solution?

III

In planning specifically for extension work in sociology we are likely to think of it as a field distinct from classroom teaching or from research. This judgment is partly true and partly false. Although extra-mural in type, extension work is definitely a teaching activity, and it should never be divorced completely from teaching just because we have a phobia with reference to being academic. Even more important, however, is the caution that extension sociology must never lose the tentative and experimental attitude from which good research work also springs. A threefold partition of our field following too literally the triple function of agricultural colleges, would justify some concern on the part of all workers in rural sociology. For each type of activity there must be specialization, but let it be specialization "within," not specialization "without."

We are likely to find a larger part of extension sociology's job to be diagnostic or interpretative, not merely a matter of doing things to people and their communities. We will be analyzing and drawing something from the community, not merely taking to it an organiza-

tional harness made elsewhere. We will be doing things with people as much as to people. Investigation and fact-finding should be a definite part of extension work, not as a search for fundamental laws of human behavior, but as a basis of extension operations. Rural sociology should put into extension work some of the visual acuity of its research men, some of their techniques of careful observation, and some of their capacity for preliminary objectivity. This will be more than ever necessary if rural sociology is to take its proper responsibility as a counsel to all extension activity.

IV

Three general suggestions have now been argued. If this point of view should receive acceptance, sociology would help orient the whole extension structure, it would participate with other subject matter fields in joint educational programs, and it would help observe and interpret rural life.

There remains to be discussed the problem of "social problems." There are in the rural community, as elsewhere, poverty, delinquency and crime, ill health, family disorganization, inadequate education, maladjustment of institutions, conflict between farm laborer and farmer-employer, poor sanitation, and the whole gamut of phenomena called social problems. Has extension sociology no concern with these? To anyone on the outside of our professional ingroup, social problems are the province of sociology. To everyone on the inside of our professional ingroup, social problems are the common concern of society. Especially during a depression, popular attention focuses on maladjustment, and the public looks to sociologists for solutions of social problems. However, these problems are ordinarily not subject to the control of any specialist. The "social problem" of the family on a small income farm is a matter for the common concern of home economics specialists, agricultural economics and farm management specialists, sociologists, and others. The only fallacy implicit in the attitude of laymen (and it is a very fundamental fallacy) is that *only sociologists* need be concerned, when actually a so-called social problem demands the concerted concern of many professions and institutions. The sociologist's failure is that he does not explain this circumstance convincingly to the layman. To the layman who challenges sociology with a reference to social problems, we should not hesitate to admit our responsibility, at the same time correcting the challenge so that it includes also the challenger. This is especially important if the layman is an economist, a psychologist, an

administrator, or an educator. Only the true generalist is a specialist in social problems.

Some critics like to change the "spot" metaphor that Dr. Taylor has used and refer to sociologists as being "in the air." This makes it possible for them to tell sociologists to "get down to earth," implying that they should *do* things about concrete social problems. Perhaps the reason some sociologists don't get down to earth is that they have been put up in the wrong air with no earth under them. Ultimate earth for the extension sociologist is the same dirt on which all extension workers must stand.

Something indeed should be done about rural problems, and most rural problems are social. The sociologist should do something about them, but not alone or in channelized activity. All extension work should have some orientation in this direction, and its representatives should attack in groups rather than by specialties. Sometimes sociology need not even lead the attack.

The discussion in this paper has been kept to the basic question of how rural sociology should help the extension service to improve rural life and it has not attempted to outline a specialist's plan of work. The comments are prompted, however, by a conviction that rural sociology is moving into a period of greater service to extension work and to all adult education than it has been able to offer in the past. If it meets the large challenge of helping to focus these educational programs, of encouraging program integration, of helping to find and interpret facts about rural life, and of co-operating in the solution of social problems, its field of action will increase greatly in size and importance.

Some Problems of the Extension Rural Sociologist¹

*D. E. Lindstrom**

ABSTRACT

Extension work in rural sociology, carried on under the Smith-Lever Law enacted in 1914, is relatively new; the earliest efforts predated the enactment of the law, however. Efforts under the law began earliest, probably, in New York, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

Administrators are now facing problems in human and group relationships as they never have before; the more specific and concrete the help offered by the rural sociologists, the more their assistance will be sought and used.

Problems faced by extension rural sociologists (1) relate to the development of a program which will fit into the terms of the Smith-Lever Law, (2) include efforts to reinterpret and make of practical use subject matter from the field of sociology which calls for judgment as to what subject matter to use, and (3) pertain to relating the work in rural sociology to other fields of extension work.

The interests of the extension rural sociologist differ in degree only from those of the research worker or teacher; there is need for placing values upon findings so that they may be applied to practical situations in the field.

Extension work in rural sociology is relatively new, especially that which has been carried on under the Smith-Lever Law enacted by Congress in 1914. True, the pioneering work done by Charles J. Galpin in his years at Wisconsin, by E. L. Morgan in Massachusetts and Missouri, by R. E. Hieronymus in Illinois, and by others in the so-called pioneering period, dating back before the enactment of the Smith-Lever Law, was carried on almost as early as the work of Seaman A. Knapp, oft-times called the "father" of extension demonstration work. Thus by no means has all of the extension work in rural sociology been carried on under Federal administration and in the various states under the Smith-Lever Act since its enactment. Many teachers and research workers in rural sociology, such as Professor Hall of Purdue, have been doing effective extension work in rural sociology as time and funds permitted. One of the most important problems confronting this group, therefore,

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it seems to me, is to get an adequate recognition of the fine work that has been done "on the outside" of the administration of the Smith-Lever Act, to correlate this work more closely with work now being done under the Act and to secure greater financial support from the administrators for rural sociology extension work as a whole.

We are now at the place where concerted and united efforts by rural sociologists would, I believe, aid in bringing about such recognition. Administrators in many of our institutions of learning are eager for a further clarification of what the field of rural sociology is, and how it can be applied, for they are facing problems in human and group relationships as they never have before. The more specific and concrete the help offered by the rural sociologists, the more their assistance will be sought and used.

The first work in rural sociology extension administered under the Smith-Lever Act came earliest, probably, in New York, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The approaches in each instance, although in general similar, were not alike in specific detail. Time does not permit a description of these approaches, but in each case the workers were confronted with the problem of demonstrating just how the work could be financed under the terms of the Smith-Lever Act. This meant that the workers had to convince the administrators not only of the practicability of the work, and in some cases of its value, but also that it was work which could be carried out under the provisions of the Act. Many of the workers in the field are still struggling with this problem. Some of the earlier workers had to show how rural sociology extension, especially that which flowed through stimulation of group activity, even though it be through music, drama, and recreation, could possibly "make two blades of grass grow where one grew before," or in any way directly increase the income of the farmer. Fortunately, in recent years the interpretation of the Smith-Lever Act has become broader; administrators recognize more fully that increased incomes are but the means to an end, that the end is a better type of life on the farm and in the rural community, and that even good music, drama, and social recreation, referred to by some as "bean bag throwing," do make for a better life on the farm.

May I make clear at this point that although many programs in rural sociology extension under the Smith-Lever Act did emphasize music, drama, and recreation at the beginning, none of them to my knowledge at the present time is confined to these activities. Moreover, most of

them carrying on activities in music, drama, and recreation have underlying objectives which fall directly into the field of rural sociology extension.

The underlying objectives may have recognized, for example, that teaching people how to play together wholesomely may have some effect on getting them to work together more effectively on their common problems. A mere glance at the history of conflict between farm groups during the last ten years will impress one with the need for greater understanding among farmers and a greater faith in each other; and certainly the techniques used by rural sociology extension workers in the field of social recreation have materially improved understanding. Most extension programs in rural sociology have as a basis these human problems; the particular approach made in each instance is that which will make a beginning, at least, in helping to solve those problems.

Closely related to the problem of developing a program of rural sociology extension which would meet the terms of the Smith-Lever Act was the problem of reinterpreting and making of practical use subject matter from the field of sociology. Some of the difficulty has been on the part of the worker—that is, to translate his concepts into terms understood by the people with whom he works. He may have known the meaning of the term "ethnocentrism," for example, but to use it in his field contacts without considerable conditioning on the part of the people he contacted might be suicidal. He would be more likely to use his knowledge of its application in situations with which he was confronted than to use the word itself. Such knowledge is invaluable, for example, to a discussion leader, for to get discussion from a group he must be able to get each person to feel that he is in the center of a universe, so that that person can rate other people's acts and expressions in terms of the amount of similarity arising from his own acts and experiences.² Moreover, the extension rural sociologist is often embarrassed if he uses much sociological terminology, because his fellow workers in the extension field are themselves frequently not grounded in the field of sociology just as he is not grounded in their fields of skilled endeavor. Whatever facts or principles are presented in the field of extension must therefore be adapted to use in the field. Not too much thought and help have been given to this problem by teachers and re-

² "By ethnocentrism we mean the habit of looking at other people, their behavior, and their products in terms of one's own behavior experiences and products." Elio B. Monachesi, "Sociology and Culture," in Emerson P. Schmidt, *Man and Society* (N. Y., 1937), p. 3.

search workers in rural sociology, chiefly because of the difference in the situation in which they work in comparison with that confronting the extension man. Whereas, for example, a teacher can have frequent contact with and exercise some degree of control over his class, requiring certain study, the extension worker must depend upon the one contact per year or so and in that contact give the kind of information that will help solve the immediate problems of the people with whom he works.

Related also to the problem of reinterpreting subject matter is the problem of what subject matter to use. By the very nature of the field, research in rural sociology has been directed to finding facts, which in many cases turned out to be quite superficial and therefore all but useless; to testing methods of research, which obviously are useful chiefly in research; or in isolating principles and describing processes. It is my feeling that research in the last mentioned field has been the most useful to the extension rural sociologist. He finds his greatest field of service in helping rural people improve their group activities, organizations, and relationships. Much more research is needed in this field.

The necessity for isolating usable subject matter and reinterpreting it for use in the field is borne in on the extension sociologist when he comes to build a plan of work which will not only satisfy the administrator, but also fit into the situation in which he finds himself. If he can fit the plan to the situation, he need have little fear of not securing administrative approval. He must therefore ask himself what are the present social problems confronting farm people. (I might have said rural people, and would do so were the term "rural" to be defined "pertaining to agriculture"; for only thus can the extension rural sociologist place a fence around his field.) A study of the plans of work for rural sociologists will give a very good idea of what they feel are the problems, and what their administrators agree can be done, under the Smith-Lever Act. A study of these plans of work will be fruitful for anyone interested in what is now recognized as rural sociology extension. Several men, such as Stacy, Wileden, and Hummel can furnish such plans. The Illinois plan^{*} states that "the task of extension work in rural sociology is to help the farm people of the state make such human and group relationships as will result in improved social and economic conditions for them." It includes five phases, each developed as a result of problems presented—namely: (1) assistance to community leaders in

^{*} See "Extension Work in Rural Sociology," by Lindstrom and Regnier, University of Illinois, College of Agriculture, publication RSE-29.

analyzing local situations, developing organizational plans to meet these situations, and working out programs for groups and organizations to improve local conditions among farm people; (2) to aid in organizing and carrying on supplementary activities in music, drama, and recreation; (3) to help train leaders to carry on discussion; (4) to give assistance in conferences to improve rural-urban or intergroup relationships; and (5) to fill speaking engagements to interpret rural social studies and discuss trends. Each phase must be related to a specific problem; requests are made for help in extension work in rural sociology when the people making the request face a social problem. For example, many county program building committees faced the problem of getting more people provided with extension service; they recognized the need for local group organization if the service of the one or two county agents was to be brought to larger numbers effectively; the extension worker in rural sociology could and did contribute to the solution of this problem.

Then, the rural sociology extension worker has the problem of relating the work he is doing to other fields of extension work. None of the work of the subject matter specialists is unrelated. The dairy specialist must concern himself with crops, and the horticulturist with soils, and all of them deal with men, women, and children. It has been pointed out many times that whereas the crops man, for example, is directly interested in the crops and only indirectly in the man, the rural sociologist has as his first concern the man. A great deal of misunderstanding can arise on this point, resulting in lack of co-operation between the crops man and the rural sociologist. The difference is only in approach, or the means used to attain the end—a better life on the farm. If the rural sociologist can help teach the man how he can improve his relationship with his neighbor, thus making it easier for the crops specialist to teach him improved practices, then both fields of subject matter are instrumental in attaining the desired end.

The rural sociology extension worker must understand that he is not the only extension worker dealing with problems of human relationships. Almost every extension specialist, if he is to plan a program which he hopes will be carried out, thinks not only in terms of subject matter but also of leaders, groups, and procedures which can be used in carrying his recommendations into effect. The problem of the sociologist is to so relate himself to this work that he can strengthen it and in

every way assist in improving leader selection and training processes, organizational procedures, and group activities.

Rural sociology extension workers are thus concerned with cause and effect in human relationship. They are interested in values, ends, and objectives in human relationship. Their interests are different in degree only, it seems to me, from those of the research worker or teacher, for the research worker, though he claims to be interested only in pure science, is also interested in results. His theories, if they are worth checking, are based on the premise that to find new principles or processes will make for improvement and will be useful to his fellow man.

May I close with this plea, then, that research workers recognize the need for placing values upon findings, so that they may be applied to practical situations in the field.

Rural Life in Modern American Poetry

Lewis H. Chrisman*

ABSTRACT

Early American poetry was bookish rather than vital. Consequently it comparatively seldom reflected American rural life. But during the nineteenth century our national poetry became more American and more rural. Whittier's "Snow-Bound" is one of our most sincere and convincing poems of American country life. Like many lesser poems of its type it appealed especially to the home-sick New Englander in the city or on the plains of the Middle West. The outstanding contributions to the poetry of the American countryside have been those of the past 25 years. Carl Sandburg is not only the poet of the hasting crowds of Chicago streets, but he is just as certainly the depicter of the broad acres of prairie farms and the men and women upon them. The poetry of rural New England of Robert Frost is as genuine as that of Whittier. It shows a first-hand contact with country life and bucolic tasks. Stephen Vincent Benét gives some delightful glimpses of the fertile and beautiful land of the Pennsylvania German farmer. Paul Engle is making some significant contributions in verse to the literature of the Middle Border. Poetry of American rural life has been rather scant considering the fact that throughout practically all of our history we have been predominantly a rural people, yet it comprises an important part of our national literature.

Literature is interpretation of life. Therefore, it is a synthetic subject. To detach it from other fields in the curriculum would be an absolute impossibility. George Bernard Shaw once wrote to Mark Twain: "I am persuaded that the future historian of America will find your works as indispensable to him as a French historian finds the political tracts of Voltaire." In both prose and poetry social trends and forces are reflected and interpreted. Vernon L. Parrington's distinguished work, *Main Currents in American Thought*, which received the Pulitzer prize in history for 1928, is primarily a study of the social, economic, and political backgrounds of American literature. No social historian of any people can ignore those aspects of its national life revealed upon the pages of its poets.

American poetry as a whole does not adequately depict and interpret country life and ways. Although we have been until comparatively recently a rural people, most of our poetry has been sylvan and urban. In the earliest days our poets were bookish rather than vital. They were re-

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hashers of English verse. In their verse the English lark soared over the hills of Massachusetts and the nightingale sang in the pastures of Connecticut. There are, nevertheless, a few exceptions to this bookishness.

One of the first genuinely American poems was "Hasty Pudding" by Joel Barlow. Being written abroad, it is one of the many poems of nostalgia. It is primarily a glorification of the distinctively American dainty of mush and milk. But it is more than this. It is a series of pictures of New England rural life in late colonial days. Probably the highest point is its description of an old-fashioned husking.

Of the poets of the nineteenth century who have loomed so large in the history of American literature William Cullen Bryant was a poet of the hills and woods, rather than of rural life as such. He never broke away sufficiently from his English sources to depict the familiar, homely, rustic scenes which he must have known among the Berkshire Hills of his youth. Of the poets of the New England renaissance Longfellow and Holmes were thoroughly city-minded. Emerson is probably too big to be labeled, but he was primarily a villager. Although he was interested in farmers and farm life, his poetry does not show it. Lowell in his Bigelow Papers reveals much insight into rural ways and characters. But the poet of the New England countryside of the last century was John Greenleaf Whittier, for whom it might be easy even yet to make a strong case as the outstanding poet of American rural life. Whittier's knowledge of the farm and its setting was first-hand. Again and again he gives positive evidence of this. This is especially true of poems like "The Huskers," "The Drovers" and "Telling the Bees." It is even more marked in "Snow-Bound." Nowhere do we find a more complete and convincing picture of the New England farm of a century ago.

Whittier was an idealizer of the past. For him the days gone by were always gilded over with a rosy glow of romance. As the poet luxuriated in memories of his youth there was no thought of toil, poverty, monotony, limited horizons and narrow outlook. In him there is no psycho-analyzing of the community scandals of a generation or of the tragedies of inhibited personalities. Yet he is realistic enough to be convincing. A recent interpreter of American literature gives in the following words the reason for the wide appeal of Whittier and the many others who with more or less skill struck the same chords: "The farm, the village ways, harsh enough in actuality, seemed, to the barefoot boys who had gone to New York or were making their fortunes in State Street, merry and jolly or softly sweet as Goldsmith's scenes of Auburn. They liked

to remember their school days, the wadded hoods, the knitted caps and mittens, the snow-bound evenings under the lamp, the games, the slates and pencils, rosy apples in the dish, nutting time, coasting time. Sawing wood in the frosty air had surely seemed less dull than adding figures. This was the theme of a hundred poems and stories that multiplied with time, as the farm became a universal symbol—the farm, the weather-painted house and barn, the well-sweep, the orchard, the sandy field surrounded by the woods, the small blue lake at the foot of the hill. No New England boy or man could ever forget the country, the cider-making days of old, the heaps of golden apples under the trees, the cider mill worked by the plodding horse and all agush with autumn juices.”¹

Something of the same type of appeal was made later by James Whitcomb Riley and other poets who were writing at the turn of the century. By this time New England geographically and otherwise comprised a smaller section of American life. Farm memories for many now included broad acres in the Middle West. Riley was a product of Indiana, a state in many ways typical of the entire “Valley of Democracy.” Memories of an Indiana farm would be sufficiently similar to those of farms in other states to insure to poems based upon it a general appeal. Riley’s poetry of the soil is not so genuine as that of Whittier. The poet had never been a farm boy, but his contacts with rural life had been close enough to enable him to avoid blunders when he wrote about it. Where Whittier idealized Riley sentimentalized. His farmers are stage figures rather than human beings. They are always kindly, gracious, fence-corner, barnyard philosophers, fairly oozing with good cheer and super-amiability. Yet these pictures of farmers and farms drawn in primary colors made a wide appeal. The big majority of readers are not particularly critical, especially when their emotions are involved. Nevertheless, in spite of the theatrical elements in Riley’s verse, there are times when his farm atmosphere is convincing.

From this point of view we see him at his best in “Old Aunt Mary’s.” Here as usual we have memories painted with roseate hues. In Riley’s past there was nothing of the sordid, the despicable, or the tragic.

It all comes so clear today!
Though I am as bald as you are gray—

¹ Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York, 1936), p. 407. Used by permission of E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc.

Out by the barn-lot, and down the lane,
We patter along in the dust again,

We cross the pasture, and through the wood
Where the hammering 'red-heads' hopped awry,
And the buzzard 'raised' in the 'clearing' sky
And lolled and circled, as he went by,
Out to Old Aunt Mary's.²

In spite of the invariable saccharine sentimentality there is enough of the genuine in Riley's poems of the soil to make it imperative that they be considered in any appraisal of poems reflecting the country life of the Middle West.

But the most authentic contribution to this field of poetry has been made in our own generation. He who is not familiar with the poems of Robert Frost is unacquainted with some of America's most vital and valuable interpretations of country life and personalities. Although Frost was born in California he is a descendant of generations of New Englanders and has spent much of his life in the land of his ancestors. At times he has been a "dirt farmer." In his poetry there is ample evidence that he has picked apples, loaded hay, rebuilt stone fences and prepared a prize pullet for the Amesbury Fair. "The Death of the Hired Man," one of his most distinctive poems, is a notable addition to the literature of the farm. This particular hired man was one of a type once found in many country communities. He was essentially a tramp although he would stop at certain farms and work for a month or two at a time and likely leave just when he was needed most. The analysis in the poem is highly convincing to any of us who have had contact with this now-extinct rural figure. Three other figures appear. One is the young college boy, Harold Wilson, who worked and argued with Silas in the hay field and who would not believe that the old man could find water with the help of a forked stick. The other two are the kindly, shrewd, impatient farmer and his understanding, sympathetic wife.

It takes one familiar with the details of farm work to get the subtle touches which are to be found in Frost. For example, in "The Death of the Hired Man" Warren comments on Silas's skill in loading hay:

I know, that's Silas's one accomplishment.
He bundles every forkful in its place,
And tags and numbers it for future reference,

² James Whitcomb Riley, *Afterwhiles* (Indianapolis, 1903), p. 38. Used by permission of The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

So he can find and easily dislodge it
 In the unloading. Silas does that well.
 He takes it out in bunches like big birds' nests.
 You never see him standing on the hay,
 He's trying to lift, straining to lift himself.³

There is something of the same verisimilitude in "After Apple-Picking." Who that does any kind of manual work has not found himself doing it as he drifts to the land of slumber? No wonder that in the apple picker's dreams there appear and disappear magnified apples, "stem and blossom end," and that as he drowns off he hears the rumbling sound of load on load of apples coming in.

In "Mending Wall" there is the same evidence of direct contact. Two neighbors at spring mending time are walking along the wall which serves as the boundary between the pine trees on the farm of one and the other's apple orchards. Their task is to put in place the boulders that have fallen on each side during the winter. One of them questions the use of what they are doing and intimates that there is no danger of the pines or the apple trees trespassing. The other, rooted in traditional standards, has a definite answer. It is his father's saying, "Good fences make good neighbors."

There are numerous poems of Frost's that have as their bases studies of rural psychology. For example, "A Servant of Servants" is a dramatic monologue revealing the inner life of a lonely, overworked, neurotic housewife. "The Code" is an account of an incident in a hayfield which also shows the bondage to traditional methods of doing things. The title poem of Frost's *New Hampshire* is rich in social psychology. It is also a dramatic monologue, the speaker being a New Hampshire farmer who comments upon his state and divers other subjects.

She's one of the two best states in the Union.
 Vermont's the other. And the two have been
 Yoke-fellows in the sap-yoke from of old
 In many Marches. And they lie like wedges,
 Thick end to thin end and thin end to thick end,

Both are delightful states for their absurdly
 Small towns—Lost Nation, Bungey, Muddy Boo,
 Poplin, Still Corners . . .⁴

³ Robert Frost, *North of Boston* (New York, 1914), pp. 18-19. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

⁴ Robert Frost, *New Hampshire* (New York, 1923), p. 9. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

It is noteworthy that three of Frost's volumes have won the Pulitzer Prize: *New Hampshire*, 1923; *Collected Poems*, 1930; and *The Further Range*, 1936.

Another Pulitzer prize winner whose poetry is distinctly rural is Robert P. Tristram Coffin whose volume *Strange Holiness* received the award for 1935. Coffin was born in Brunswick, Maine, and is now Pierce Professor of English in Bowdoin College. A large number of his titles are illustrative of the dominant spirit of his poetry. The following are from *Strange Holiness*: "Country Church," "Potato Diggers," "Advice to a Young Farmer," "Hens in Winter," "Winter Milking," "In the Barn in Winter," "The Barn in Summer," "The Bull Inside," "The Haying," and "The Farm in the Woods." Among Coffin's other titles are these: "Cows Are Coming Home in Maine," "Haytime," "Ox-pull at the Fair," "Skunk," "Counting of Sheep," and "This Is My Country." His flow of poetry dealing with farm scenes and memories seems inexhaustible. In fact its copiousness makes one rather suspicious of its ultimate value. But the poems speak for themselves. The author accomplishes what he sets out to do. Here there is no especially subtle psychology, no attempt to fathom human motives or to trace the social history of rural communities. The following from "Winter Milking" is typical of Coffin. The speaker at five o'clock in the evening trudges barnward through the snow. Already it is dark and he carries a lantern. He enters the stable, stamps the snow from his boots, sets the lantern by the sill. There is a silence. He hears a mouse squeak.

Vast sweet breaths are taken in
Behind the door. I dole out grain,
And now the breaths rush out again.
Stanchions rattle, bodies stir;
I open the door on miniver,
Velvet, sunshine in sleek hair,
And honey and clover in the air,
Round eyes burn on me, tongues caress,
Blue nostrils wide with eagerness.
I put the feed-boxes into place,
Hunger furnishes the grace.⁵

Nobody who is familiar with such a scene can help being impressed with the fact that in a poem like this we have a segment of farm life set right before us.

⁵ Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *Strange Holiness* (New York, 1935), p. 35. Used by permission of The Macmillan Co.

But the "farm vote" in the United States does not come from New England. The course of the rural empire swings westward. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate that there should be a reflection in our modern poetry of the soil of the Middle West. This part of the United States has within the past 25 years made contributions of the highest significance to American poetry. In attempting to point out the most important aspects of the verse with a rural background, the poetry of Carl Sandburg deserves a decided emphasis. Sandburg is most distinctly a product of the prairie. Born of Scandinavian parentage and securing an education through his own efforts, his contacts with American life have been numerous and varied. During six years he was porter in a barber shop, scene-shifter in a poorly equipped theater, truck-handler in a brickyard, turner-apprentice in a pottery, dish-washer in Denver and Omaha hotels and a harvest hand in Kansas wheat fields. No poet since Whitman has mirrored wider vistas of American life than Sandburg. His first book, *Chicago Poems*, is a collection primarily dealing with city life. But the poet of Chicago is also the poet of the prairie. In *Cornhuskers*, Sandburg's second volume, we have in "The Prairie" our most significant poem of the rural Middle West.

As we read this poem the life of the prairie sweeps panoramically before us. We see the red sunset dripping over corn fields, the big strong horses trampling through the snow up to their knees, and a headlight searching a snowstorm, a funnel of white light shooting from over the pilot of the Pioneer Limited crossing Wisconsin. We hear threshing crews yelling in the chaff of a straw pile and the gray geese honking for a new home.

I am the prairie, mother of men, waiting.

They are mine, the threshing crews eating beefsteak, the farmboys driving steers to the railroad cattle pens.

They are mine, the horses looking over a fence in the frost of late October saying good-morning to the horses hauling wagons of rutabaga to market.⁶

There are other pictures just as clear. For example, there is that of a farmer hauling a wagon load of radishes to market. He sits on the high seat dangling the reins on the rumps of a pair of dapple-gray horses. The following is not especially lyrical and has little in common with dainty lines about larks, nightingales, or honeysuckle. It has, nevertheless, sufficient of a barnyard atmosphere to justify its inclusion here:

⁶ Carl Sandburg, *Cornhuskers* (New York, 1918) p. 8. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

Keep your hogs on changing corn and mashes of grain,
O farmerman.
Cram their insides till they waddle on short legs
Under the drums of bellies, hams of fat.
Kill your hogs with a knife slit under the ear.
Hack them with cleavers.
Hang them with hooks in the hind legs.⁷

At least one other interpreter of the life of the Middle West should be mentioned here. Paul Engle is a younger poet whose poetry has considerable significance to students of social backgrounds. He is a native of Iowa and received his academic training at Yale and Oxford. His poetry has a rather wide geographical range. He is not pre-eminently a poet of the open country, some of his poetry being in general decidedly metropolitan and cosmopolitan. This is evidenced by titles like "Folk of the World," "Chicago," "Vienna," "New York," and "England." Along with these is a poem which clearly indicates that he has not been cosmopolitanized to the point of becoming completely detached from his earliest environment. Its caption is "Great Valley." It is a rich interpretation of rural America. He refers to the "great valley" as the "granary of the world, the nation's pigsty" and points to the farmer boasting of the oatmeal which he sends all over the world, of his calves, winners of blue ribbons at county fairs, and his hogs fattened until they are not able to walk. He depicts him as rejoicing equally in his tractor and the rich black soil which it tills. Here again we have something of a panorama. We see cattle so well bred that their "milk flows nearly pure butter fat," corn so tall that men become lost in the fields, and the round hard bodies of silos towering above the barns. Then, too, there are the evidences of a machine age in the form of sulky plows, disks, and corn-pickers.

Engle shows some tendency to editorialize. In one stanza he depicts the tragedy of the hardships of the travelers in their trains of covered wagons crossing the prairies and the deserts. In another he flays those in the halls of state whom he believes to have betrayed the earth by wrong or inadequate legislation. In still another he laments the vanished heroism of those who conquered nature and the savage. The closing stanza is an excoriation of the recent governmental policy of plowing crops under and destroying food. Although some of these lines

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

are more opinionated than poetical, Engle's factual picturing of rural life itself is highly convincing.

This by no means completes the list of American poets of rural life. Among the books which should be mentioned in this connection is Amy Lowell's *East Wind*, a volume of poems dealing for the most part with some of the tragedies of men and women living in isolated country regions and battling against loneliness, morbidity, and neuroticism. Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* also has to do primarily with the abnormal and the tragic. Although it is the quintessence of village scandal, it occasionally depicts the same sordid aspects of life as they are found among those who live on farms. Among other poems which should command especial attention are those of Elizabeth Coatsworth, who shows her greatest skill in animal poems, like "The Old Mare" and "The Circus-Postered Barn." In a few of the passages in Stephen Vincent Benét's *John Brown's Body* we have lines describing with such impressive beauty the Pennsylvania lands of broad-backed, sleek horses, big red barns bursting with plenty, picturesque old stone houses, and well-tilled, rolling acres that we wish he could give us more of it. Mark Van Doren's "Former Barn Lot" is an isolated poem of three unforgettable stanzas with a definitely rural setting. Two other meritorious poems of deserted farms are Malcolm Cowley's "The Farm Died" and "Blue Juniata." It is undoubtedly true that a respectable anthology could be compiled of poems based on the ever-changing drama of American rural life.

Poetry is not sociology, but the poet and the sociologist of necessity use much of the same material. Both go to life for data. As American poetry has become more genuinely American it has ceased to neglect important segments of our national life. As a result the rural scene has loomed larger in the writings of our poets. And in spite of the trend toward urbanization, it will in all probability continue to do so for at least the next generation. On the pages of the poet there is surpassingly much that is of high interest to the student of rural life.

The Influence of Intra-State Regional Characteristics upon Population Growth¹

Leland B. Tate*

ABSTRACT

Population growth, when measured by census changes or natural gain, tends to show wide variations from region to region. This is particularly true in Virginia where the more or less natural and traditional areas are so different in historical background and provincial characteristics. Since 1870 Virginia's regional population growth has ranged from one tenth of one per cent in the Middle Peninsula of Tidewater to over 200 per cent in the two extreme western regions and the two extreme southern regions. Several modifying factors show a relationship with these changes. The smallest growth is associated with an old region which was once the home of aristocratic planters but today is relatively poor. The large gains are associated first with two newer regions which have fairly abundant resources and a preponderance of white inhabitants and secondly with two old regions now highly urbanized and dotted with resorts and army, navy and aviation concentration points.

In recent years many concepts of the term "region" have been advanced, and much emphasis has been placed on regional study and analysis. Writing of the South a few months ago in the *New York Times*, Stark Young said:

If you examine the Tidewater in Virginia, you will find how much it differs from the Virginia further west. Regions in North Carolina and Tennessee are anything but like the Deep South. And even in a single State—Mississippi, for example— you can go a mere mile or so very often and run into another sort of people and a different living.

I am not entirely familiar with the distinctive regions of the various Southern States, but it appears to me that we have in Virginia one of the finest examples of intra-state regions to be found in any commonwealth of similar size. By intra-state regions as here considered, I mean the more or less natural and traditional areas of the state, many of which have distinct cultural characteristics, and several of which main-

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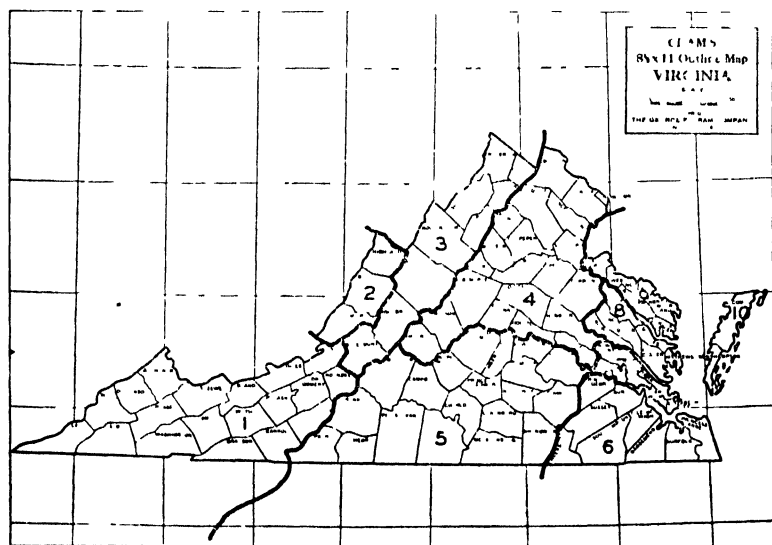
¹ A paper given before the Southern Sociological Society, Birmingham, Alabama, April 3, 1937

² Stark Young, 'The South Presents a Design for Living,' *The New York Times Magazine*, January 17, 1937, p. 4

tain their own regional chambers of commerce to proclaim their peculiar advantages, as contrasted with other areas.

The Blue Ridge Mountain range divides Virginia into two large areas which have many dissimilar characteristics, and which have had, since 1870, a very noticeable difference in population growth. Western Virginia's population has increased over the sixty-year period by 145 per cent, as compared with an increase of 82 per cent east of the Blue Ridge, and in spite of the fact that all of the state's large cities except Roanoke are in the east. If we examine carefully each of these two larger regions, they may be subdivided into several smaller regions, as indicated in Figure 1. Thus, Eastern Virginia is divided first into the Tidewater and the Piedmont regions. The northern Piedmont in turn becomes Middle Virginia, and the Piedmont area south of the James River is known far and wide as Southside Virginia. The Tidewater region has five smaller regions known as Southeastern Virginia, the James-York River Peninsula, the Middle Peninsula, the Northern Neck, and the Eastern Shore. Retracing our steps from the west, it is found that the large region west of the Blue Ridge range is subdivided into three smaller regions known

FIGURE 1
A REGIONAL MAP OF VIRGINIA



(1) Southwestern Virginia, (2) Allegheny Ridges, (3) Shenandoah Valley, (4) Middle Virginia, (5) Southside Virginia, (6) Southeastern Virginia, (7) James-York Peninsula, (8) Middle Peninsula, (9) Northern Neck, (10) Eastern Shore.

as the Shenandoah Valley, the Allegheny Ridges, and Southwestern Virginia.

Along with loyalty to county in the Old Dominion, there is a very definite loyalty to region, and with the exception of a few interstitial areas, where the peripheries of regions tend to merge gradually one into the other, there is a fairly definite knowledge of the boundaries of each region here considered.

Southwestern Virginia, for example, is not a mere segment of the state to its inhabitants, but "The Great Southwest" to many, and "The Mountain Empire" to its regional chamber of commerce. Located in the extreme western part of Virginia, much of its territory is nearer to Columbia, South Carolina, than to its own state capital at Richmond. Bounded on the south by the Blue Ridge range, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and on the north by the Cumberland Mountains, Kentucky, and West Virginia, and extending approximately 270 miles from Roanoke on the east to Cumberland Gap on the west, it embraces 19 counties and a land area of 8,153 square miles. In size Southwestern Virginia is 114 square miles larger than Massachusetts, and over seven and one-half times as large as Rhode Island. It is one-fifth of the area of Virginia.

This region in the days of Washington was a gateway to the West, and at the same time was itself distinctly western. Beginning about 1750, there was a stream of thousands of settlers through and into the area during the following half century. In the movement were many diverse elements: Scotch-Irish shortly removed from Ulster via Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley; a goodly number of Germans of varying religious beliefs; a sprinkling of French who had fought with Count de Rochambeau in the American Revolution for Independence, and then decided to make America their home; some English from Eastern Virginia; and a mixture of French Huguenots, English, and others from the Carolinas. When to these are added the small proportion of slaves and free Negroes, it is clear that the homogeneity of the people would not compare with the English settlements in the Tidewater and the Piedmont. I think perhaps the influence of those early heterogeneous and independent freeholders is still reflected in the brand of politics found here. It is at least a distinctive brand for a Southern region. Sometimes Democratic, sometimes Republican, its citizens have fought for their convictions to such an extent, while maneuvering for positions in political campaigns, that their major congressional district

is known as "The Fighting Ninth," a sobriquet which is well earned and not accidental.

Southwestern Virginia has had many factors to encourage population growth, and consequently shows a larger increase in its rural population since 1870 than any other region of the state. The first stimulant, however, came a century before 1870 with the opportunity to acquire lands almost for the asking by means of so-called improvements, under such headings as *cabin rights* and *corn rights*. With land cheap, but heavily forested, and labor dear and still more lands a little further west for surplus adult sons, children were a decided economic asset and large families the order of the day. The second stimulant for denser settlement came with the discovery of the value of blue grass and its wonderful grazing possibilities. The late Henry Carter Stuart, the largest cattleman of the East, a former governor of Virginia, and a nephew of General J. E. B. Stuart, told me a few years ago that:

The pioneers who found their way into this region soon carved from the wilderness numerous clearings, and shortly afterwards found themselves face to face with what they thought to be a pest—a form of vegetation which would probably compel them to return to the low country. Therefore, with their primitive tools they began a war of extermination on this so-called pest. They dug it and piled it on stumps and stones and tried to burn it, so as to destroy the seed, but it soon took possession of their cleared land which was left uncultivated from year to year. It was then discovered that the herds of cattle grew fat on this unwelcome weed, and this brought the pioneer to the realization that this form of vegetation—Blue Grass, as it has since been known—afforded fine grazing for the cattle. Consequently, additional timber was deadened, the sun was admitted, and this hardy volunteer grass covered the limestone valleys and mountain ranges. *This attracted new settlers*, who hailed the blue grass as a blessing, in that it was spontaneous and easily convertible into profit without necessitating the drudgery found in the production of grain as a major product.⁸

Ordinarily a grazing economy is a pioneer economy, which is gradually superseded by some more intensive type of agriculture as population increases, but it is still the predominant type of farming in Southwestern Virginia. Half of the region's farm land is in pasture, and in some counties the proportion is much larger. Since a crop economy is capable of supporting a denser population than a grazing economy, it may be assumed that this region would not have had the large increase in population previously indicated, had it not been for the development of

⁸ From Leland Burdine Tate, *An Economic and Social Survey of Russell County, Virginia*, University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. XVI, No. 1, July, 1931, p. 39.

other natural resources, and the consequent creation of added employment opportunities.

With the construction of the first railroad in the fifties of the last century there was an outlet for the choice timber within a reasonable distance of the scattered shipping points, and the citizens of a generation ago remember well the many walnut logs that were hauled to the stations by means of four-horse teams, and thence shipped by rail to distant markets. As railways were constructed into various parts of the region, the timber industry expanded, and in the eighties and nineties and the first decade of the present century there was a rapid development of coal mining in the two northwestern tiers of counties. The selection of the small town of "Big Lick" on the east as headquarters for the area's major railway company transformed this small center into the present city of Roanoke and was no doubt the main factor in increasing its population from 669 persons in 1880 to over 69,000 in 1930. However, Roanoke is the only large city of the region. The topography of the territory, the need for frequent shipping points, and the industrial development that has grown up mainly around extractive industries have been conducive to the establishment of many small centers rather than large ones. The region's population is classified as 75 per cent rural, and over half of the urban population is in the city of Roanoke.

The "Gap Town" boom described by John Fox, Jr., in *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (p. 232) was repeated in miniature in dozens of nearby localities, and gave rise to numerous small coal mining towns and adjacent trade centers. Not only did this give supplementary employment to many already within the region and encourage more population, but it attracted many new elements from outside.

The Wise County portion of "the John Fox country" had less than 4,800 inhabitants in 1870 and over 51,000 in 1930. This was an increase of 969 per cent, in spite of the loss of some territory when an adjoining county was formed in 1880. During the World War and immediate postwar period this county alone produced from two to six million tons of coal per year, and it felt the pangs of progress to such an extent that it floated bonds for several million dollars with which to improve its schools and roads. Other counties followed suit on a smaller scale, until all were forced to recede somewhat by economic depression.

The population of the region continued to increase from 1920 to 1930 in spite of the postwar depression in the coal, timber, and live-stock industries. This would seem to indicate that the momentum of

population growth gained during a period of rapid industrial expansion fails to recede in proportion to sudden industrial contraction, and brings about a differential lag in population decline during times of depression.

To summarize briefly the factors associated with the rapid population growth of Southwestern Virginia, at least the following points should be noted. Newer regions in general tend to outgrow older ones, and this case is no exception to the rule. Certain natural resources found here in abundance are not found in the same proportion, or at all, in other regions of the state. The white population of this region comprises 93 per cent or a larger percentage of the total than in any other region, and it is now well established that the whites tend to outgrow the blacks. Investigation shows that the birth rate is very high among coal miners, and many families of this type reside here in the small coal mining towns. Large urban centers tend to drain the surrounding hinterlands of much of their population, and this region is more remote from large centers than is Eastern Virginia.

The greatest contrast to the situation in Southwestern Virginia is found in the Middle Peninsula of Tidewater, where the population was only one-tenth of one per cent greater in 1930 than 60 years before. The Middle Peninsula, which is slightly more than one-sixth the size of Southwestern Virginia, is located between the York and Rappahannock rivers, extends inland from the Chesapeake Bay about 70 miles, and contains six counties. Two of these, without territorial losses, have a smaller population today than at the time of the first national Census 148 years ago.⁴

The social and economic factors associated with the Middle Peninsula region indicate that it was early doomed to a slow population growth. It was settled by large planters who concentrated the ownership of the land in the hands of very few families, operated their plantations mainly by Negro slaves, depleted the soil by the constant growing of tobacco, and traded directly with the mother country from their private wharves. These factors were not conducive to town building and the concentration of population, and provided few opportunities for tradesmen, craftsmen, and small farmers. Prior to 1700 several attempts were made to legislate towns into existence in this and adjacent regions of Tide-

⁴ For detailed accounts of these and similar Virginia counties see Wilson Gee and John J. Corson, 3rd, *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia*, University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Institute Monograph No. 3, 1929, pp. 1-17.

water, but as Bruce,⁵ the Virginia historian, has clearly shown, no amount of wishful thinking, legislative hope, and conformity to the wishes of an English sovereign would triumph over practical experience and give rise to towns where economic and social conditions were not favorable for their existence.

A picture of the Middle Peninsula today shows that it is 100 per cent rural and 44 per cent Negro in population; that it contains only four incorporated small towns; that it has no railroads and no outstanding natural resources; that its soil, with rare exceptions, permits only meager economic returns; that many acres once devoted to tobacco culture have been abandoned and allowed to become again forest lands; and that migration to outside points, such as nearby and Northern cities, and the truck farms of the Eastern Shore, has allowed the area barely to keep pace in population growth. The region had only 54 more persons in 1930 than 60 years before, and over 5,000 fewer Negroes.

Negro population growth, incidentally, is definitely associated with the regions that are characterized by industrial development, resort and recreational centers, urbanization, trade and service occupations, or the more intensive types of agriculture. Slavery and tobacco were synonymous in Virginia in early days, and in the main they both stopped with the crest of the Blue Ridge. Farms west of the Blue Ridge were sometimes referred to as plantations, but few of them were like the slave plantations to the east. The contrast in the population element has been illustrated well by Professor Barringer of the University of Virginia in a short historical account of Albemarle County. He says:

A comparison of the slave population of Albemarle and Rockingham, adjoining counties, with the Blue Ridge dividing, will show how sharply slavery stopped with tobacco. In 1840 Albemarle had nearly 14,000 slaves and 20 free negroes, while Rockingham with seven-eighths as many inhabitants, had only 1,900 slaves and 500 free negroes.⁶

Since the dissolution of the slave plantation, the growth of cities, and the gradual southward shifting of the area of tobacco culture, practically all counties in Middle Virginia, including Albemarle, have lost much of their Negro population. Reference to Figure 2, which gives the Negro population changes since 1870 by counties, shows that in the main all Virginia counties are whiter, so to speak, than 60 years ago,

⁵ Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 1907, II, 522-65.

⁶ P. B. Barringer, "Albemarle County," in *Albemarle County: Economic and Social*, University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 15-16.

except those characterized by coal mining and miscellaneous industry, recreational facilities and resorts, or trade and service occupations, and the more intensive types of agriculture, such as tobacco in Southside Virginia, peanuts, cotton, and vegetables in Southeastern Virginia, and potatoes and various truck crops on the Eastern Shore. However, only two regions here considered—the Eastern Shore and Southwestern Virginia—had increases in their Negro population during the last decade (1920-30). The other regions showed losses ranging from 4 to 19 per cent. Three regions have had losses in Negro population every decade since 1880, with the greatest average loss per decade occurring in the Shenandoah Valley. (The per cent of regional decline since 1870 is shown in Table I.)

TABLE I

REGIONAL POPULATION GROWTH IN VIRGINIA 1870-1930 COMPARED WITH THE GROWTH FOR THE STATE AND FOR THE UNITED STATES

Region	Percent of Change in Population						
	Total	White	Negro	Urban		Rural†	
				White	Negro	White	Negro
Middle Peninsula	0.1	23	-19	0	0	24	-19
Northern Neck	26	19	4	0	0	49	4
Shenandoah Valley	3	71	-29	342	50	48	-44
Southside Virginia	15	11	4	410	109	81	-5
Middle Virginia	68	124	1	312	103	70	-25
Eastern Shore	91	91	88	*	*	82	83
James York Peninsula	204	130	88	*	*	24	-19
Southeastern Virginia	111	266	1.9	687	4.3	74	-5
Southwestern Virginia	213	23	64	*	*	157	-25
Allegheny Ridges	241	2.8	11	*	*	146	21
Virginia	98	143	2	602	233	90	3
United States	218	21	120				

†Rural includes all population outside of incorporated centers with 2,500 persons or more.

NOTE: Regions with urban population in 1930 but without urban population in 1870 are marked with an asterisk (*). The Eastern Shore had in 1930 1,843 urban whites and 69 urban Negroes; the James York River Peninsula 29,703 urban whites and 1,808 urban Negroes; Southwestern Virginia, 111,109 urban whites and 19,093 urban Negroes; and the Allegheny Ridges 11,085 urban whites and 2,289 urban Negroes.

Probably the major factors contributing to Negro migration from the Shenandoah Valley are, **first**, its preponderance of family farms of a general nature, which are operated by thrifty land-loving farmers of Scotch Irish and German descent, who have little need for colored laborers and tenants, and **second**, its proximity to the states of West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, where undoubtedly there are better economic opportunities for colored persons than in the Shenandoah Valley.

region. Other contrasts to regions in which Negroes have increased are easily discerned. There are no large cities, commercial ports, and resort centers in the Shenandoah Valley as in the Hampton Roads area of Southeastern Virginia and the James-York River Peninsula; no regional industrial activity as coal mining in Southwestern Virginia; no combination of a Hot Springs resort and a rapid industrial development as in the Allegheny Ridges and no intensive type of agriculture that is definitely regional, such as truck farming on the Eastern Shore.

I believe that our discussion has been carried almost far enough to show that Virginia as a state has several regions with distinctive features and characteristics, and that these have had and are having a definite influence upon population growth. It will be noted that the most rapid regional growth is associated with two relatively new regions which have an abundance of resources and a preponderance of white inhabitants; that the slowest regional growth is associated with a relatively old region which was none too rich in the beginning and which by reason of its economic and social life of the past is still less rich today. In between these two extremes there are many modifying regional factors. Some of these are difficult of statistical measurement, but two simple relationship tables, based on a limited number of selected factors, reveal that there is a very definite association between regional population growth and the factors here considered, except in a few individual cases.

Table II gives the percentage of total population growth from 1870 to 1930 for each of the ten regions shown in Figure 1, and relates this regional growth to urbanization, the proportion of whites, the proportion of Negroes, and natural population gain. By averaging the data for the four regions with the largest growth, the four regions with the next largest growth, and the two regions with the smallest growth, it was found that the average growth of the three combinations was, respectively, 217 per cent, 67 per cent, and 13 per cent. These figures show a positive relationship with the proportion of population urban, the proportion of population white, and natural population gain determined by the excess of birth rates over death rates, but an inverse relationship with the proportion of population Negro.

Natural population gain shows a positive relationship with the percentage of population growth in the three combinations of regions just indicated. However, Southeastern Virginia and the James-York River Peninsula, two of the fastest growing regions for the period considered, show the smallest regional growth by natural gain. This indicates that

these two regions bordering the port of Hampton Roads have gained more by migration than any other sections of the state. The reasons for this are clear in view of the World War mushroom development of the

TABLE II
REGIONAL POPULATION GROWTH IN VIRGINIA, 1870-1930, RELATED TO
URBANIZATION, WHITE POPULATION, NEGRO POPULATION,
AND NATURAL POPULATION GAIN

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Percentage population growth, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of population urban, 1930</i>	<i>Numerical increase in the percent of population urban, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of population white, 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of population Negro, 1930</i>	<i>Yearly average excess of birth rates over death rates, 1920 to 1930</i>
1 The Allegheny Ridges	241 5	34	34	89	11	12 86
2 Southwestern Virginia	212 8	25	25	93	7	20 73
3 Southeastern Virginia	210 9	58	32	57	43	10 72
4 James-York River Peninsula	204 4	51	51	61	38	8 49
Average	217 4	42 0	35 5	75 0	27 25	13 20
5 Eastern Shore	91 2	5	5	56	44	12 21
6 Middle Virginia	68 3	41	19	73	27	11 36
7 Southside Virginia	55 4	22	12	63	37	14 47
8 Shenandoah Valley	53 2	22	13	92	8	10 97
Average	67 02	22 5	12 25	71 0	29 0	12 30
9 Northern Neck	26 4	0	0	58	42	11 65
10 Middle Peninsula	0 1	0	0	55	44	9 01
Average	13 25	0	0	56 5	43	10 33

Hampton Roads area, and the army, navy, and aviation centers which have been developed in this vicinity.

Table III gives the percentage of rural population growth from 1870 to 1930 for each of the 10 regions shown in Figure 1, and relates this regional rural growth to urbanization, rural whites, rural Negroes, and self-sufficing agriculture. By combining the regions as in Table I, it was found that the average rural population growth of the three combinations was, respectively, 104 per cent, 36 per cent, and 13 per cent. These figures show a positive relationship with the proportion of total population urban and the proportion of rural population white, but an inverse relationship with the proportion of rural population Negro and the percentage of farms self-sufficing.

In the main, therefore, the most rapid population growth, total or rural, has occurred in the regions which are the most urbanized and

the whitest, from the standpoint of population color, and the slowest growth has occurred in the regions which have the largest proportion of Negroes and self-sufficing farms

TABLE III

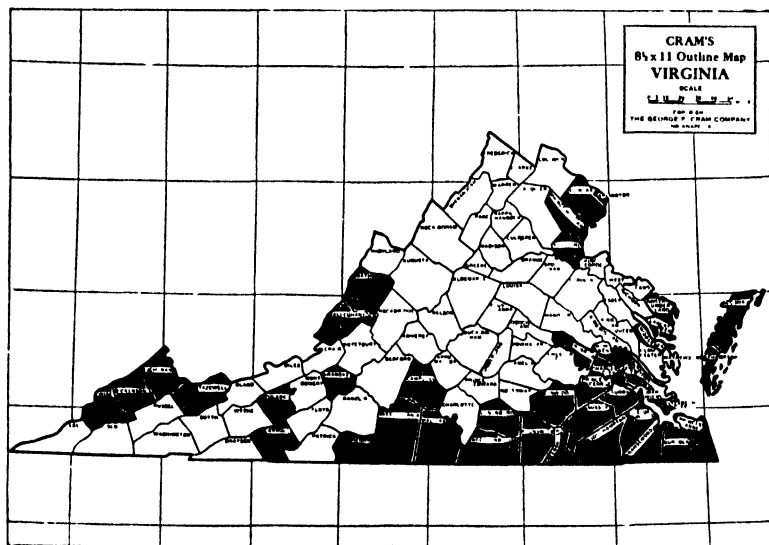
REGIONAL RURAL POPULATION GROWTH IN VIRGINIA, 1870-1930, RELATED TO URBANIZATION, RURAL WHITE POPULATION, RURAL NEGRO POPULATION, AND SELF SUFFICING AGRICULTURE

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Percentage rural population growth, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of total population urban 1930</i>	<i>Numerical increase in percent of total population urban, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of rural population white 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of rural population Negro, 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of farms self sufficing, 1930</i>
1 Southwestern Virginia	133.4	25	25	96	4	38
2 The Allegheny Ridges	126.4	34	34	92	8	25
3 Eastern Shore	82.4	5	5	55	45	0.6
4 Southeastern Virginia	75.3	58	32	45	55	5
Average	104.4	30.5	24.0	72.0	28.0	17.1
5 James York River Peninsula	50.3	51	51	60	40	19
6 Southside Virginia	34.9	22	12	62	38	22
7 Shenandoah Valley	32.3	22	13	93	7	16
8 Northern Neck	26.4	0	0	58	42	31
Average	35.97	23.75	19.0	68.25	31.75	22.0
9 Middle Virginia	26.3	41	19	73	27	32
10 Middle Peninsula	0.1	0	0	55	45	44
Average	13.2	20.5	9.5	64	36.0	38.0

Of course, there are individual cases where these relationships do not hold true, by reason of more influential factors. For example, the Eastern Shore is 95 per cent rural and 44 per cent Negro, but shows the third largest regional increase in rural population since 1870 (82.4 per cent), and is the only region here considered to have an increase in its rural Negro population during the last decade. The explanation lies in the fact that the Eastern Shore is an area of very intensive agriculture, with allied industries such as canneries and cooperage plants, and a supplementary seafood industry, the combined activities of which provide employment opportunities for a large number of Negroes. Back of the intensive agriculture of this region is the Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange, which has been largely responsible for providing profitable markets for the local produce, and therefore, influential in giving rise to the employment opportunities characteristic of the region. It is said that prior to the formation of this organization in 1900, mar-

keting conditions were chaotic, and that "postage stamps were sometimes used in paying for produce shipped, so small was the return."⁷ Thus, the organization was born of despair, and has proven a wonderful success until quite recently. In view of the fact that it has provided widely expanded market outlets and sold as much as twenty million dollars worth of produce per year, it is easy to see that such factors as these can influence regional employment opportunities tremendously, and in turn influence regional population growth.

FIGURE 2
GAINS AND LOSSES IN NEGRO POPULATION, 1870-1930
ONLY THE BLACK COUNTIES HAVE HAD GAINS
(Thirteen of these contain cities)



⁷ Benjamin T. Gunter, "The Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange," in *The Country Life of the Nation* (edited by Wilson Gee), The University of North Carolina Press, 1930, p. 96.

The Movement to Southern Farms

1930-35¹

*Conrad Taeuber**

ABSTRACT

Despite high reproduction rates the farm population in the Southern States in 1935 was only slightly greater than in 1910, and between 1920 and 1930 there were decreases in nine of the 13 states. Continued migration from farms to cities and towns in all parts of the country occurred both before and after 1930. These states contributed nearly 60 per cent of the net migration from farms to towns and cities between 1920 and 1930, but received only one-third of the persons who moved from nonfarm territory to farms after 1930 and were still there by 1935. The landward movement was largely to the fringes of urban or industrialized areas. Negroes were a much smaller proportion of the landward migrants of the thirties than of the migrants to urban areas during the twenties.

In this age of increasing specialization, we find that the production of the future population is increasingly being left to certain groups and regions. Twenty-seven per cent of the families now contribute 62 per cent of the children, while another 60 per cent of the families contribute only 24 per cent of the children.

For many years people have been one of the major products of the South.² In the Southern States thousands of children are born and reared and then turned over to other sections ready to work. In 1930, 35,000,000 persons reported that they had been born in the South, but more than 4,000,000 of them had left the South and were living in other sections of the country. The South contains slightly more than one-fourth of the nation's population (28 per cent). But in 1935 this one-fourth of the nation's population contributed one-third (33 per cent) of all births in the United States. Moreover, it produced nearly one-half (46 per cent) of the total natural increase.

Chief among the groups which contribute to the relatively high rate

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¹ A paper given before the Southern Sociological Society, Birmingham, Alabama, April 3, 1937.

² Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

of population growth in the South is the large part of the population which lives on farms. In 1930 approximately half the people in the 13 Southern States lived on farms. In some states the proportion was much greater; three-fifths of all persons in Arkansas and two-thirds of those in Mississippi were thus classified. Only Florida reported less than two-fifths of its population on farms.

In the South, as elsewhere in the country, the people on farms are more prolific than people in villages or cities. Whereas the native white population of the country in 1930 was growing at the rate of 12 per cent per generation, the native whites in rural farm areas were increasing approximately six times as fast, or 69 per cent per generation. In the three Southern Geographical Divisions^a the rate of growth was between 81 and 93 per cent per generation (Table I). It is not difficult today to find counties in the South which would double their farm population in one generation if there were no migration. Rural-farm Negroes were increasing at the rate of 80 per cent in each generation—100 per cent in the South Atlantic States, which include Virginia, the Carolinias, and Georgia, and only 66 per cent in the West South Central States, which include Texas and Oklahoma.

Despite such rapid rates of natural increase, the farm population in the Southern States has not grown rapidly in numbers. In fact, in 1935 the number of persons on farms in these states was only two per cent greater than it had been in 1910, and between 1920 and 1930 there were decreases in nine of the 13 states. Only continued migration from farms on a large scale could account for this development. During the twenties the farms of the South contributed more than 3,400,000 persons to towns and cities in all parts of the country. This number is equal to one-fifth of the number of persons living on Southern farms in 1920. Between 1930 and 1935 the net migration from farms to towns and cities occurred at a rate approximately one-third as great as that which prevailed during the twenties. The number of persons who left farms exceeded by 572,000 the number who moved to farms. This was only about 26,000 less than the net migration from farms (598,000 persons) for the entire country. However, four of the Southern States—Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee—reported a *net migration to farms* of 52,000 persons. If we take into account the net migration from farms in the Southern States to farms in other states, the net loss by migration

^a Including the 13 Southern States and Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, and West Virginia.

in the Southern States was approximately 700,000 persons, despite net migrations to four of the states. Nevertheless, the excess of births over

TABLE I
NET REPRODUCTIVE RATE AMONG RURAL FARM POPULATION, 1930*

<i>Geographic Division</i>	<i>Native White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
United States, total.....	169	180
South Atlantic	189	200
East South Central....	193	172
West South Central.....	181	166
Mountain†	177
Pacific†	122

*Based on net replacement quotas as computed by Lorimer, and Osborne, *Dynamics of Population*, New York, 1934, pp. 28-30 and pp. 351-359; and on ratios of children 0-4 per 100 women aged 20-44, from Whelpton, P. K., "Geographic and Economic Differentials in Fertility," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 188 37-55, November, 1936. A stationary population would have a rate of 100

†Divisions reporting highest and lowest rates outside the South included for comparisons.

deaths more than offsets losses by migration in all of these states, except Georgia and Mississippi. For the entire group of 13 states, therefore, there was a net increase in the farm population, even though there were decreases in Mississippi and in Georgia.

Although the Southern States continued to send part of their farm population to nearby towns and cities and to other states during 1930-35, the numbers involved were considerably less than during the years of urban prosperity. However, migration from farms was so extensive that although births exceeded deaths by nearly 1,400,000, and 684,000 persons moved from towns and cities to farms and remained there, the net increase in the number of persons living on farms was only 612,000.⁴ This net increase was less than the number of persons who moved to farms, and less than half as great as the excess of births over deaths. Here, as in some other parts of the country, the farm population remained nearly stationary in total numbers, but was far from stationary when we consider the persons themselves.

⁴ The Census of Agriculture of 1935 reports the number of persons living on farms who were not on farms five years previously, excluding children under five. These persons might be called survivors of the persons who moved to farms. Other data concerning migration and concerning natural increase are taken from compilations for the annual estimates of farm population which are made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Figures based on the Census of 1930 are as of January 1.

This becomes especially apparent when we turn from the net figures which have just been given to some estimates of total migration. The "persons living on farms who were not on farms five years previously" are really only those persons who moved from towns and cities to farms during the five years, and were still on a farm at the end of the period. Persons who moved from nonfarm territory to a farm and then to some nonfarm area before 1935 would not be included. If we include them, the number of persons who moved to farms from villages, towns, and cities becomes approximately 2,500,000, or nearly four times the number of these persons who were still on farms at the beginning of 1935.⁵ Disregarding deaths, we might say that three-fourths of the total number of migrants to farms moved off their farms again before the end of the period. Including these persons who were returning to towns and cities, and those who had not previously been in a town or city but were moving to one, it appears that about 3,200,000 persons moved away from farms in the South during the five years. The net result of the migration movements here, as elsewhere, is then the result of the movements of relatively large numbers of persons. Some farm residents leave farms to go to towns or cities, urban residents move to farms, and in some cases they are merely exchanging places.

THE BACK-TO-THE-LAND MOVEMENT

One characteristic of the movement to farms during the depression years may be noted in passing. In the South, the total number of persons who moved from towns and cities to farms between 1925 and 1929 was greater by about 400,000 persons than the number between 1930 and 1935. Obviously, this is related to the fact that more persons were leaving farms during the five-year period before 1930 than during the later period. It is possible that during the depression years the percentage who remained at their destination was greater than during the preceding period of urban prosperity. Whether or not this is so, it is clear that migration to farms and migration from farms are two phases of change in the farm population which are closely related to each other. Whether the movement to or from farms is greater at any particular

⁵ To say that 2,500,000 persons moved to farms is not strictly correct, for it is conceivable that some of the individuals who are involved moved to farms more than once, that is, a person who moved from a city to a farm and then to a village and back to a farm during the five years would be counted twice, etc. The figure really gives the total number of migrations to farms. A similar criticism applies to the figure on number of persons moving from farms. The amount of duplication, if known, would probably alter these figures only slightly.

time depends on many factors; it is sufficient to note here that they occur simultaneously.

TABLE II
FARM POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1910-35

State	1910 Estimated Jan 1*	1920 Census Jan 1*	1930 Estimated Jan 1†	1935 Census Jan 1‡	Percent Change 1910-20	Percent Change 1920-30	Percent Change 1930-35
Virginia	1,065,059	1,064,417	945,300	1,053,469	- 0 1	-11 2	11 4
North Carolina	1,408,580	1,501,227	1,590,600	1,623 481	6 6	6 0	2 1
South Carolina	970,334	1,074,692	911,200	948,435	10 8	-15 2	4 1
Georgia	1,593,809	1,685,213	1,410,300	1,405,944	5 7	-16 3	- 0 3
Florida	273,397	281 993	277,400	319,658	3 1	- 1 6	15 2
Kentucky	1,285,920	1,301,862	1,166,600	1,307,816	1 5	-10 6	12 1
Tennessee	1,278,032	1,271,708	1,205,300	1,308,420	- 0 5	- 5 2	8 6
Alabama	1,382,754	1,335,885	1,329,000	1,386,074	- 3 4	- 0 5	4 3
Mississippi	1,344,307	1,270,482	1,351,400	1,332,981	- 5 5	6 4	- 1 4
Arkansas	1,106,815	1,147,049	1,108,800	1,180,238	3 6	- 3 3	6 4
Louisiana	732,016	786,050	822,600	859,351	7 4	4 6	4 5
Oklahoma	1,022,016	1,017,327	1,014,300	1,015,562	- 0 5	- 0 3	0 1
Texas	2,293,474	2,277,773	2,329,700	2,332,693	- 0 7	2 3	0 1
Total Southern States	15,756,513	16,018,579	15,462,500	16,071,127	1 7	- 3 5	4 0
U S Total	32,076,960	31,614,269	30,169,000	31,800,907	- 1 4	- 4 6	5 4

*Leon E. Truesdell, *Farm Population of the U S*, Bureau of the Census, 1926, Table 8, p. 45

†*Farm Population Estimates*, U S Dept. of Agric., Bureau of Agric. Econ., Unpublished tables on file

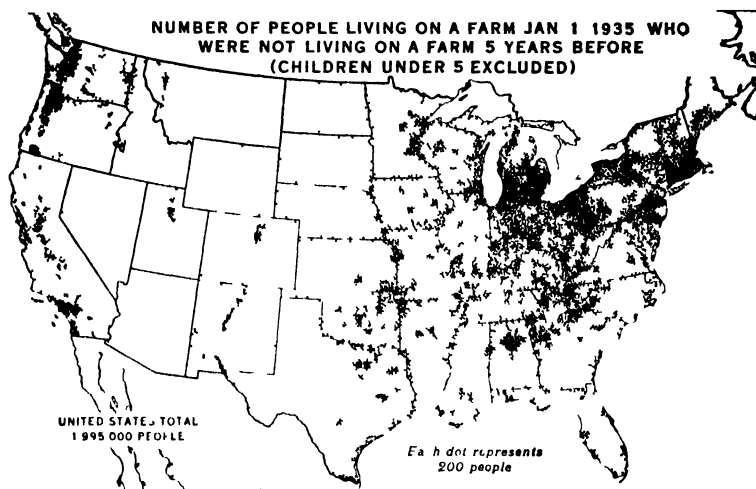
‡U S Census of Agriculture, "State Bulletins", Second Series, Table 2, 1935

Although during the five-year period (1930-35) the trend of migration was away from farms, more than half a million persons moved from towns or cities to Southern farms and stayed there. It is not possible to determine to what extent this is a "back-to-the-farm" or simply a "to-the-farm" movement. It has popularly been known as a "back-to-the-land" movement and it is widely held that this movement involved essentially a return migration to the areas from which farm people had moved before 1930. For the Southern States this statement clearly does not apply. Between 1930 and 1935 these states included about one-half of the total farm population. But although they had contributed nearly 60 per cent of the net migration from farms to towns and cities between 1920-30, they received only one-third of the persons who moved from nonfarm territory to farms after 1930 and were still there by 1935. In these rural and agricultural states which reported a large migration from farms between 1920 and 1930 the landward movement was proportionately much less than in the more industrialized Northern and Eastern States.

This statement is further supported by the distribution of the landward migrants within the Southern States (Figure 1). The movement

was not to the predominantly agricultural areas, but largely to the fringes of urban territory or to industrialized areas. The map indicating the location of these migrants would show a decidedly uneven distribution, with several areas including the major share. The most important of these areas is in the Southern Appalachians, where stranded miners joined with former urban residents in settling on old farms or creating new ones. Another area of concentration is that of the part-time farming development which surrounds Birmingham. Smaller clusters are found around the larger cities, as Atlanta, Memphis, Fort Worth and Dallas, Oklahoma City, Louisville, and south of Cincinnati. Like most migrations, these movements from towns and cities to farms were for

FIGURE 1



short distances. The large cities of the North, which attracted many of the Southern farm residents during the twenties, apparently did not return more than a small fraction of them during the thirties. A large proportion of the farmward migrants in the South, as in other parts of the country, went to areas which were not predominantly agricultural. Going into areas largely unsuited to agriculture, and frequently to poor agricultural land, many of them cannot have found satisfactory adjustments in agriculture. A large number of the migrants have already left the farms. Any prediction concerning the prospects for stability of those who remain would be sheer guesswork.

On the average throughout the region 43 per cent of the persons liv-

ing on farms in 1935 were not living on farms five years previously. The ratio was highest in Florida and Oklahoma, where it rose to seven per cent, and lowest in Mississippi, where it dropped 2.2 per cent. It was between four and five per cent in Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas, and between three and four per cent in Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Louisiana.

A direct comparison of the movement to farms by Negroes and white persons cannot be made from available data. However, the Census does report the color of the farm operators on whose farms the migrants were found. The farms of colored operators received only half as many of these migrants, proportionately, as the farms of white operators. On the latter, 4.8 per cent of all residents had not been on farms in 1930; on the former the proportion was 2.3 per cent, less than half as great. And, although one-fourth of the farm residents were on farms with colored operators, only one-eighth of the migrants who remained on farms were on farms with colored operators. In view of the Census practice of classifying croppers as well as owners as farm operators, it seems probable that the ratios for the total farm population would be closely similar to these. The farmward migration of colored farm laborers to farms of white operators was probably not sufficiently great to introduce any significant error. The number of persons who moved to farms of white operators and were still there in 1935 was 595,000; the number of those moving to farms of colored operators was only 89,000. Negroes clearly were underrepresented in this movement. In some parts of the South there was a considerable movement to farms in the first part of the five-year period, and a later movement away from farms, which may have removed a large fraction of migrants. Since the Census figures apply only to the beginning and end of the period, they may hide some of the changes that occurred during the period, but it is not probable that the relationships of white and Negro migrants were much different from those reported by the Census.

It appears from the scanty data available that the landward migrants in the South included entire family groups more frequently than in the remainder of the country, and that single young adults returning to the parental home were somewhat less frequent in the South.⁶ This in itself may indicate that many of the persons, migrants to farms who were

⁶ These statements are based on the assumption that persons on "farms reporting one such person" are chiefly children of the head of the households and that persons on "farms reporting three or more such persons" are primarily members of migrating families.

still there in 1935, are likely to remain on farms, for family groups ordinarily move somewhat less easily than single individuals.

CONCLUSION

The farms of the Southern States attracted and retained fewer former urban residents during the depression years than the farms in the more industrialized Northern and Eastern States. In fact, with few exceptions, the Southern farms continued to export population to towns and cities, though in smaller numbers than previously. The exchange of population between farms of this region and towns and cities here and in other parts of the country is not and has not been only a one-way process. Many moves are required for each person accounted for in net migration figures. Although for 25 years the net movement in this area has generally been from farms to towns and cities, there has consistently been a strong countermovement. This is only one phase of the well-known instability of the farm population—the frequent farm-to-farm movements would need to be taken into account also. How many of the landward migrants of the early thirties will remain on farms cannot be accurately foretold. If farm population in the South is to be maintained at the level it had reached by 1935, the net movement from farms during the next 15 years will be at least 3.7 million persons. But if migration on the scale considered necessary by Vance⁷ occurs, these figures are much too low. In any case, the nation has a vital stake in how the Southern farms perform that important function of rearing and educating thousands of young people and turning them over to other sections ready to work.

Discussion

*Harold Hoffsommer**

A fact of obvious significance brought out by Dr. Taeuber's paper is that there was not only a movement of population *to* Southern farms during the period 1930-35, but that there was at the same time a movement *away* from these farms. Despite the caption of the paper, "The Movement to Southern Farms," it is significant that its author begins, as well as ends, his discussion with comments on the movements away *from* rather than *to* these farms. Although this emphasis is

⁷ Rupert B. Vance, "The Old Cotton Belt" in *Migration and Economic Opportunity* by Carter Goodrich *et al.* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 124-163.

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easily understood, since the 1930-35 trend shows a reversal of previous decades, it does suggest the difficulties involved in attempting to analyze the significance of an incipient trend of such recent development. A steady stream of people *leaving the farm* is constantly meeting a more or less steady stream *coming to the farm*. The net result to the farm population is available in the census returns, but the extremely important sociological information as to what manner of people are leaving the farms and what manner of people are coming to them is difficult to obtain. In any case, the movement from one place to another represents a quest for opportunity, but the contradictory procedure of two groups going in opposite directions in search of this opportunity is not readily understandable without a classification of the various people involved in the movement according to their several possibilities, interests, and abilities. In this, census data gave inadequate aid, and but a small volume of scattered information of doubtful application is available from other sources. Yet it seems that such information is essential for an understanding of the nature of this movement.

Offhand, two items occur to the writer which may give some clues, in addition to those suggested in Dr. Tacuber's paper, as to the characteristics of the people involved in these population shifts. The first one has to do with tenancy. During the 1930-35 period, farm tenancy declined relatively in the Southern States. The accompanying increase in farm ownership appears to be associated in certain sections with a considerable movement to submarginal farms, in which the general status of the owner is probably less satisfactory than that of his tenant neighbor. In the instance of this type of movement from city and town to farm—and the amount of such is not known—it is obvious that the opportunity sought by the migrant is of a very low order, being little in excess of a place to stay, with the possibility of subsistence with an indifferent roof over his head. But in comparison with unemployment, he considers this an opportunity. The movement of this group is receiving some study but it obviously needs much more.

A second source of evidence on the characteristics of these migrants may be obtained from the study of certain special groups within the population. Recently, those families receiving relief have probably been more studied than any other single group. Some information from this angle is available from the writer's study of the 30,028 Alabama farm families who were on the Alabama relief rolls in September of 1934. At this time 85 per cent of these families resided in the open country, 11 per cent in the villages, and 4 per cent in the towns and cities. With a few exceptions, the village and city residents comprising this 15 per cent had, within the past several years, been actual farm residents and were so classed on the relief rolls. The presumption is that they were displaced from their farm residence by the depression and, lacking other opportunities, moved to the towns or cities. As to length of residence, those living on farms in September of 1934 had lived there an average of 38 years; those living in villages, three years, and those in towns and cities but one year. The open-country residents likewise show a considerably longer continuous residence in the county than those in the villages and cities. With an average of 28 years for the whole group, those living in the open country show a continuous residence in the

county of 29 years, those in the villages of 28 years, and those in the towns and cities of 20 years. It appears that many of these displaced farmers have first moved to the villages fairly close at hand, and from there to the towns and cities, using the village as a kind of stepping stone. Naturally, the moves from village to city often cross county lines, hence the shorter length of continuous residence in the county for city residents, as well as the definitely shorter term of residence within the city itself.

In the main, these data indicate the movement of a substantial group of disadvantaged farm families to the villages, towns, and cities, presumably in search of opportunity. At the same time an even larger number, many of them likewise disadvantaged, moved from the cities, towns, and villages to the farms, also in search of opportunity. The point I wish to make is that as yet little data are available as to the characteristics of these migrants. And it is possible that the nature and significance of this movement cannot be accurately known until it has had time to settle down somewhat. Dr. Taeuber's paper gives the broad outlines of the movement, but only as additional data become available can its full significance be appreciated and its exact nature be understood.

Notes

THE FORMATION OF RURAL PUBLIC OPINION

What are the factors influencing the formation of rural public opinion? How do farmers and other rural folk "make up their minds?" Do they blindly follow the propagandist, or do they arrive at their decisions on the basis of a careful analysis of the issues at stake, and act accordingly?

These are some of the questions which prompted a recent study to determine some of the factors influencing the decisions of 201 rural people on a single public issue. This study revealed that "allegiance to one's political party" was the most influential factor in helping these people to decide for whom to vote at the last presidential election. The influence of the radio ranked second as an important factor, and the printed word held a prominent place. How much rural people really think for themselves, it is not possible to determine with any degree of accuracy in this study. With only one or two exceptions, none of the more significant overt factors influenced these people to any great extent. In no case were large majorities "swayed by the subtle forces of propaganda," but on the other hand, there is reason to believe that in many cases the full power of intellectual reasoning was not applied.

A single township in northwestern Ohio was selected as a typical rural community. While the discovery of the factors influencing public opinion in all important issues was desired, it was thought best to select for this study a single issue on which there recently had been public expression enough to enable individuals to recall, as accurately as possible, the degree of influence which certain selected factors had had on their decisions on this problem. Accordingly, the presidential election of November, 1936, (then only a month old) was chosen. About 250 representative citizens of this community were asked to check a questionnaire on which had been listed the factors indicated in Table I, each of which was followed by a rating scale, "much—some—little—none." Each person was directed to underscore the word which indicated most accurately the degree of influence of each factor on his decision to vote as he did. Provision was made for the addition of significant factors not included in the questionnaire, and each person was asked, after checking it, to state the single factor which had had the most influence. (See Table III.)

The county of which this township is a part is one of the strongest Republican counties in the state. For years, this township supported Republican candidates, and in November gave 393 votes to Landon as compared with 239 to Roosevelt. The community boasts of the first centralized school in northwestern Ohio, and takes pride in its local achievements. Five villages remain within the township, even though the oil boom of the 1890's, which was responsible for their settlement and development, has long since become an indistinct echo. About two out

of every three people in this community are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the remainder securing their living from the remnants of the oil industry, quarrying, manufacturing, and local business enterprises.

Table I shows the relative influence of the various factors for all of the 201 people involved in the study and the influence of these same factors by groups.¹

TABLE I
INDEXES OF INFLUENCE OF SELECTED FACTORS ON DECISIONS MADE BY 201
RURAL PEOPLE ON A PUBLIC ISSUE

Factors of Influence	Col'mn (1)	Column (2)*		Column (3)		Column (4)			Column (5)†	
		(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)
	Average for 201 Rural People	101 Men	99 Women	118 Farmers	83 Rural Nonfarm People	57 People Under 35 Years of Age	57 People Between 35 and 50 Years Age	87 People Over 50 Years of Age	130 Who Voted for Landon	69 Who Voted for Roosevelt
1. Local Newspapers	37	33	39	37	38	36	34	39	52	16
2. Urban Newspapers	45	37	49	47	34	69	31	40	52	34
3. Agricultural Magazines	15	18	13	17	13	08	18	18	14	17
4. Farm Org's Magazines	09	13	07	12	06	07	09	12	09	12
5. Other Magazines	24	17	35	21	27	21	29	23	23	25
6. Books, Pamphlets	24	18	31	23	28	21	19	27	31	13
7. Radio Addresses	50	50	50	53	47	31	52	60	53	45
8. Newsreels, Theatre	10	08	14	04	21	27	04	05	12	06
9. Billboard Advertising	04	03	08	06	05	09	09	02	07	03
10. Other Political Adv.	12	06	19	05	23	29	07	06	11	14
11. Pol. Party Rallies	16	20	12	24	08	20	16	14	23	05
12. Opinions of Family	40	34	43	36	41	40	45	38	45	31
13. Opinions of Friends	25	23	26	24	26	28	25	24	35	09
14. Opinions of Pastor	10	12	09	10	11	09	16	07	14	02
15. Opinions of Local Leaders	17	23	12	19	15	20	10	20	25	05
16. Party Allegiance	58	59	58	65	51	77	41	58	63	50
17. Improved Eco. Conditions	40	46	35	46	35	43	47	32	31	57
18. Approval										
or Disapproval of										
a. Relief	38	38	37	32	45	45	25	39	34	44
b. Fin'cl Aid	34	36	32	35	32	32	28	39	32	37
c. Farm Pol	43	48	38	36	51	50	33	44	37	54
d. Labor Pol	23	25	23	21	26	37	26	12	21	29
19. Approval or Disapproval of Pol's Other Candidates	47	42	51	38	56	44	62	39	45	49
20. Approval or Disapproval of Personalities other than Candidates	36	38	34	35	37	45	28	35	44	20

*This column totals only 200 because one person did not indicate sex

†This column totals only 199 because two persons voted for Thomas

¹ In order to represent statistically the data secured from the questionnaires an *index of influence* was determined for each factor. This was found by arbitrarily weighting the *extreme* responses "much" and "none" two points (inasmuch as they were more positive and decisive), and the *mean* responses "some" and "little" one point each as follows:

	No. People Checking	Weighted as Indicated	
1. Local newspaper	much 16	32	—104 (significant influence)
	some 72	72	
	little 48	48	—178 (little or no influence)
	none 65	130	

For the purpose of analysis these factors have been divided into five categories: (1) the printed word, including local and urban newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets, billboards and other political advertising; (2) the spoken word including the radio, party rallies, the opinions of members of the family, of friends, of the pastor, and of local leaders, and to some extent the newsreel; (3) graphic and pictorial media, such as newsreels and the movie, and billboards, newspapers, and magazines to the extent that pictures, cartoons, and graphs are included; (4) emotional factors, including allegiance to a political party, the approval or disapproval of the personalities of the candidates, and the opinions of family, friends, pastor, and local leaders, to the extent that these factors represent mere emotionalization rather than rationalization; (5) existing conditions and the policies responsible for them, including improved economic conditions and the approval or disapproval of Roosevelt's or Landon's policies.

THE PRINTED WORD

Table I indicates that the printed word in newspapers and magazines holds an important place in the formation of rural opinion. Lack of space forbids a detailed analysis of the data but adequate interpretations can be made only in the light of certain local factors. The low index for billboard advertising (1)² may be accounted for by the lack of billboards in this community; the higher indexes for women than men (2) may indicate that women have more time to read than men, or it may mean that they are more easily influenced; the higher indexes for men (2a) and for farmers (3a) on farm magazines result probably from specialized interests; the difference in indexes on newspapers in Column 5 is explained by the Republican bias of the local paper and the fact that the urban Republican paper has a wider circulation than the urban Democratic paper; and the differences in books and pamphlets (5) may perhaps be accounted for by the greater strength of the local Republican organization.

When the factors utilizing the printed word are considered as a group, the *index of influence* is roughly .21 (see Table II) but it must be remembered that

TABLE II
"INDEXES OF INFLUENCE" OF THE FIVE GROUPS OF FACTORS

The printed word.....	21
The spoken word.....	.23
Graphic and pictorial material10 to .20
Emotional factors31 to .58
Actual conditions and policies responsible for them	41

this is only an approximation inasmuch as the influence of graphic materials

Adding the weighted scores we have 104 for significant influence and 178 for little or no influence. Dividing 104 by 282 (104+178) we arrive at .37, the *index of influence* for this factor.

This *index of influence* merely provides a basis of comparison of one factor with another, and simply means, in this instance, that in 100 hypothetical cases this factor would have significant influence in 37 of the cases and little or no influence in the other 63 cases.

² Numbers refer to columns in Table I.

TABLE III
MOST SIGNIFICANT FACTORS AS INDICATED BY ANSWERS TO QUESTION 22
ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE*

	<i>No. of persons stating this factor the most significant</i>
1 Spending of large sums of money extravagance waste	13
2 Approval or disapproval of certain policies to operate efficiently	11
3 A particular speech by radio or printed word	8
4 Approval or disapproval of personalities of candidates	4
5 High taxes	3
6 Desire for social security	2
7 Repeal of the 18th Amendment	2
8 The administration's refusal to call a national day of prayer	1

*Question 21 provided for the addition of significant factors not listed. Only a few persons added any and most of these were repetitions in one form or another of the factors already listed.

organization magazines, the movie, and the opinions of one's pastor, is comparatively insignificant (1).

Fifth the differences revealed between men and women are less than those between rural farm and nonfarm people, between persons who voted for Landon and those who voted for Roosevelt and among the different age groups.

Finally it seems fair to conclude that many factors influence the formation of rural public opinion. Not always are these factors revealed as positive agencies, and propaganda and emotionalization play their parts. However, there is evidence in this study to indicate that many rural folk have developed habits and patterns of sound reasoning and frequently exert a high degree of intelligence in making decisions on important public issues.

The conclusions of this study are based on 201 cases in a single rural community and no attempt should be made to apply them generally. The study was intended to serve only as a basis for a more comprehensive study of the factors influencing rural public opinion and to suggest techniques for carrying on more intensive research in this area.

Columbia University

HUGH B. WOOD

WHAT THE FARMER IS THINKING ABOUT

What is uppermost in the farmer's mind now? What thought patterns and attitudes constantly prevail among rural people? An answer to the first question would be as important an element in the agricultural situation as a survey of crop conditions. An adequate answer to the second question, although a somewhat different problem, would be invaluable to the Secretary of Agriculture or the administrators of any agencies dealing with agricultural people. If governmental agencies initiate programs which are contrary to the fundamental thought patterns and mores of the farmer, they are almost certainly doomed to failure.

Social scientists and philosophers, before and since the early Greeks and Romans, have written about the nature of rural as contrasted to urban behavior, moral codes, attitudes, and beliefs. There are many generalizations about these characteristics. Many of these generalities are supported by fact, others are not.

With the exception of some pre-election polling activities, little attention is given to ascertaining that which is uppermost in the farmer's mind at any one given time. Few would challenge the assumption that an adequate portrayal of the agricultural situation could not omit a consideration of what the farmer thinks about current issues, yet scant attention has been directed toward shedding light upon the subject.

If several thousand farmers in the 48 states should receive blank sheets of paper with franked envelopes addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture, and if these farmers could be induced to write with little or no restriction or suggestion concerning the subject, most farmers would give expression to the thoughts uppermost in their minds. Something of this nature happens each year when thousands of farm reporters are asked to report the status of the crops and livestock possessions. Of course these replies come from the better-to-do farmers. Those reports with comments concerning current or other topics, which were not requested in the blank, cannot be said to be a random sample of the farm population. The comments do give expression, however, to the thoughts and beliefs of a vast number of crop-reporting farmers.

The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life has tabulated 12,532 schedules mailed in from the 48 states by farmers who have given the necessary items of information required to make the annual farm population estimate for 1936. In the depression year 1933, 23,576 families reported the population changes on their farms. This year (1937) 2,089, or 16.7 per cent, and in 1933, 5,386, or 22.8 per cent of the schedules had letters or comments directed to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Some of the one-page schedules have the request, "Your personal comments concerning the movement of persons to and from farms in your locality will be greatly appreciated. Please use other side of sheet." Others carried no suggestion that the farmer write to officials in Washington. The comments in the notes and letters are of great variety. Some are an attempt to give the Washington officials a "piece of the writer's mind." Others are pleas for assistance. The comments range from a request for the Secretary of Agriculture or the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics to furnish a widowed farmer with a blue-eyed wife who knows how to milk, to metaphysical dissertations on the nature of final causes and the ultimate goals of the universe. However, the comments tend to focalize about certain specific points of interest. They reveal what is topmost in the writer's mind. They offer some indications concerning the writer's background of thought, and the attitudes and beliefs which are constant elements in his mental behavior.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS NOW AND DURING THE DEPRESSION

How does the present thinking of the farmer about current topics differ from his depression psychology of 1933? Relatively more of the farmers include comments for the Secretary or the Chief of the Bureau in 1933 than in 1937. The 1933 comments concerned themselves with fewer subjects than do the 1937 comments. In 1933 most farmers were affected by one common stimulus, namely,

the depression. Their responses were conditioned and channeled toward fewer focal points of interest by this one factor. In 1933 a notable number of the farmers declared that revolution was at hand, that "if things don't change we will change to highjacking and bank robbing," and that the "farmer will lose his patience this year (1933) if some relief doesn't come in some form or another." Thirty-four per cent of all 1933 comments (omitting comments concerning population which was the subject of the investigation) convey the connotation of economic distress.

The most common reasons given for distress in this depression year of 1933 were low prices, high taxes, and foreclosures. "Some farmers have committed suicide on account of foreclosures." "Even if the mortgage has taken the place you cannot pry them (the farmers) off with a crowbar." "The more we produce the more we lose." "Farmers do not need more credit but more time on their debts—*recess* on foreclosure." Over 20 per cent of all the comments stated that city people were going to the farm and 42 per cent of the comments concerning this movement held the depression responsible. As a contrast to the depression comments, less than 10 per cent of all the comments of the 1937 schedules indicate economic distress. However, a considerable number of schedules record distress due to drought, erosion, bad weather, and poor crops. No farmer mentions revolution in the 1937 reports. Many, however, give the presence of economic royalists, represented by middlemen, "Wall Street" and bankers, as a cause for economic distress. "Big interests control the milk market. Middlemen take all the profit."

LABOR SUPPLY NOW AND DURING THE DEPRESSION

During the depression year of 1933 a considerable number of farmers reported that labor was plentiful and wages low. Almost as many farmers are now claiming that labor is scarce and wages high. One of the most common causes given for the shortage of labor and higher wages is the Works Progress Administration's program. Although in 1933 some farmers complained that public works and charity were causing wages to be too high, in 1937 twice as many are complaining about the Works Progress Administration and its influence in raising wages and decreasing the supply of available labor.

OPTIMISM MORE PREVALENT NOW

Among the comments received in 1937 there is an expression of optimism which was completely absent in the 1933 reports. At least 13 per cent of all comments carried a connotation of optimism. Causes for optimism include the statements that prices are better and there is a sale for farm property, that new houses are going up and repairs are being made.

REFERENCES TO THE GOVERNMENT NOW AND DURING THE DEPRESSION

In 1933, nine per cent of all comments (exclusive of comments relating to population) mentioned the government. Most of these comments pleaded for the government to *do* something. "Nero fiddled while Rome burned—history is repeating itself." The most prominent request was for a moratorium on debt

and for low interest rates. Such a typical statement was: "The government should treat its farmers at least as well as foreign nations." In the 1937 schedules eight per cent of the comments (exclusive of references to farm population) involve the government. Thirty-seven per cent of all these comments refer to the Works Progress Administration as an agency which destroys morals or raises the price of labor. "The Works Progress Administration has been a curse to this country." Over three times as many comments are for the programs of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and Soil Conservation Service, as are against these programs. Although a considerable number of the comments on the depression schedules demanded that the government economize, this is true for very few of those returned this year. During the depression year such comments were common as: "We demand a 50 per cent cut in all wages to stop big leaks in government expenses and a 50 per cent cut in taxes." Farmers are apparently becoming more accustomed to meeting "high paid" government officials, for such comments are fewer among the 1937 reports.

In this year's schedules a trend toward big farm operations was frequently reported for Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Illinois. "The fellow with power machinery gets all the land and thus a lot of farmers are displaced and must go on relief." Also the opinion: "There must be a division of farms—or else . . ." "Big wheat farmers have all the land and prefer to leave their houses empty. As a result many farmers have no land or houses. The governor should stop this." No such general trend as indicated by these comments was mentioned in 1933.

Thirteen per cent of the comments for both the depression and this year (excluding comments concerning population) refer to other tenure classes. The belief that "tenancy is becoming a menace to agriculture and to community life" is stated in the 1937 reports. The most common subject of these comments is that tenants and laborers are mobile elements in the population. About one-fourth of all comments explaining the reasons for population changes (19 per cent of all comments in 1933 and 36 per cent in 1937) maintain that the population was stable because the majority of the farmers in the community were owners.

The references to the back-to-the-land movement in the schedules for 1937 are negligible. In 1933 a frequent comment involved the opinion that "city people should stay put" because they would become a burden to local charity in the rural areas, they didn't know how to farm, they had no money and equipment, and they would reduce consumption and increase production.

What may be said to be the constant ideas and attitudes expressed by the farmers during the depression and the present year? Although the farmer may be no more of a proverbial complainer than some other elements in the population, the reports do not indicate that the American farmer intends to remain silently submissive. Excluding comments involving population changes (about which the farmer was actually requested to write his opinion) 31 per cent of all comments in 1933 and 17 per cent in 1937 gave definite indications of what might be classified as grumbling. In both years low prices and high taxes were subjects of complaint. In 1933 almost half of the complaints centered on the

shortage of houses which of course was definitely related to the back-to-the-land movement in the areas surrounding the large cities.

In a farm society which depends for its livelihood upon commercial farming, prices are likely to be important in the farmer's consideration of what should be done to ameliorate his condition. From the earliest farm organizations, beginning with and even before the Grange in 1867 to the present, attention of the American farmer has been centered upon the prices and market régime. This is not true of self-sufficient peasant societies where thought is centered about the relationship of the tiller of the soil to the land which he tills, and the social and economic status which results from this relationship. In most agricultural societies having a centralized government, regardless of whether the agricultural economy is dependent upon the market régime or not, taxes in the minds of the farmers are usually too high and government officials overpaid. The complaints registered by farmers on the population schedules for 1933 and 1937 are typical of commercialized agriculture insofar as they refer so frequently to low prices for farm products and high prices for nonfarm products. They are typical of agricultural society generally insofar as they refer to taxes.

Isolated excerpts from statements such as the following give expression to common rural attitudes. "The government is wrong to encourage city people to come to farms. They compete with hard-pressed established farmers and mistreat the soil." "City people have fine medical aid and generally have an easy time of things." "The townspeople are taxing the farmer to death for town schools." "The government helps only the economic royalists." "City folks make poor neighbors." "Common people are taxed to death while the government is sending millions to big business." "City people can't get along without the conveniences they left." "Too many farm boys are taken by the C.C.C.; they don't want to come back." "A lot of worthless people go to cities to draw government relief checks— play pool and go to picture shows."

As the following statement on a 1933 report indicates, the farmer has no great love for politicians. "If some of our peanut politicians aren't poisoned we'll all be eating with the Red Cross in one more year. I have some left-over calcium arsenate. That is too expensive to feed to boll weevils now."

Objections to the survey are not uncommon among the comments. They also indicate other general attitudes held by farmers. For example: "Dear Sir, we have an Institution for caring for insane people at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa—send the man or woman who wrote out these questions and we will put him in for a year—such bunk." This survey is "just a waste of the taxpayer's money." "But as farmers burdened with taxes we are *strongly opposed* to so much of this useless and unnecessary clerical expense in gathering and filing such statistics that really mean nothing to the majority of the people." "If a lot of this (population schedules) foolishness as well as the unnecessary expense were cut out, probably our taxes would not be so much of a burden." "This whole thing is a lot of baloney at the taxpayer's expense."

U. S. Division of Farm Population and Rural Life

CHARLES P. LOOMIS
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Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis

FAMILY LIVING

"Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky,"¹ has been described by a field investigation of 228 families in 1930. The study includes an analysis of the income and expenditure patterns for four value-of-living groups. The value of furnished as well as purchased goods and services, which constitute the total value of living, is presented for the categories of food, clothing, housing, household operation, furnishings and equipment, transportation, personal care, medical care, recreation, reading materials, tobacco, formal education, community welfare, contributions and gifts to persons outside the family, and miscellaneous items. Using these categories the consumption pattern of the 228 Knott County families is compared with that of families included in studies made in Vermont, Wisconsin, and two other Kentucky counties. Forty-one families representative of the 228 were interviewed daily during July and August, in order to obtain detailed records of food consumption.

In addition, social, economic, and vital characteristics of the people, such as population trends, family size and composition, kinship, age of marriage, mobility, education, and health, are described. An inventory of home furnishings, equipment, and reading material, as well as educational and health facilities, is given.

The fact that the value of purchased and furnished food constituted 61 per cent of the value of living is taken as one evidence of the low level of living of the families. The average family had a value of living of \$964 and was composed of six persons. Fifty-four per cent of this living was furnished, since the cash incomes of the families averaged only \$494. Cash income from farm products amounted to only \$56, the chief source of cash income being that from nonfarm employment. Diet deficiencies and lack of housing, health, and community facilities, as well as the low level of consumption of the families studied, bespeak a low material level of living.

"Rural Housing in Louisiana"² is described by an analysis of interviews with husbands or wives made by Civil Works Administration employees in 1934. The study concerns 16,403 houses in six selected parishes. Comparisons of extent

¹ Faith M. Williams, Hazel K. Stiebeling, Idella G. Swisher, and Gertrude Schmidt Weiss, "Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky," United States Department of Agriculture, *Technical Bulletin No. 576*, Washington, D. C., August, 1937 (pp. 69).

² Ellen LeNoir and T. Lynn Smith, "Rural Housing in Louisiana," Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 290*, Baton Rouge, August, 1937 (pp. 33).

of ownership, age of house, materials of construction, as well as of adequacy of the home are made for tenure and racial groups. Measures of adequacy are based upon the size and density of occupancy of the dwellings, prevalence of living rooms, dining rooms, front or side and back porches, and bathrooms. Home conveniences, such as water in the house, kitchen sinks, lights, and refrigeration, are also used as indices of adequacy.

Home ownership was found to be more prevalent upon poor soil than upon fertile soil, except where fertile soil is associated with truck farming, or French ancestry and a cultural pattern of the people based upon cultivation of small plots by the family. Parishes with the greatest proportion of owners had the largest proportions of new houses. Old houses characterized the areas of fertile soil and to some extent the plantation system. Except where French and Midwest influences are strong, less than 20 per cent of the houses are painted. ". . . in most respects, owners' homes are more nearly adequate than tenants, and white homes are more nearly adequate than colored." In most of the measures colored owners were found to have more adequate houses than white tenants. . . . lack of conveniences is due to habit of doing without (cultural compulsion), as well as to financial inability."

A United States Department of Agriculture publication, "Farm Family Living, 1938,"³ presents a series of charts and tables relative to prices paid for goods purchased for the farm family and the average value of furnished and purchased family living. The proportions which the separate categories constituting this total value of living make of the total are graphically indicated for nine areas. The basis for family living data included was the National Consumer Purchases study.

Eighty scattered farm family living studies made in 31 states from 1920-35 have been summarized by the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture.⁴ The studies represent 18,893 families. Average for value of living and categories composing this are given by region and value of living groups. The money value of living is adjusted to 1935 values.

The Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture is now releasing the preliminary results of a study of consumer purchases in selected areas. The material, which has already been collected by Works Progress Administration workers in the various states, under the direction of supervisors selected by the state universities, is all being tabulated, studied, and analyzed in the Bureau of Home Economics in Washington. Twenty-three state areas have been studied to date. Approximately 30 releases involving the analysis of these data have been received.

Score cards were used in an analysis of the standard of living and its relation to farm management practices in Michigan.⁵ The investigation indicated high

³ *Agricultural Outlook Charts*, "Farm Family Living, 1938," United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, D. C., October, 1937 (Rotoprinted, pp.27).

⁴ Medora M. Ward, *Farm Family Living, 1920-1935*, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 56).

⁵ Eben Mumford, J. F. Thaden, and Margaret Cawood Spurway, "The Standard of Living of Farm Families in Selected Michigan Communities," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, *Special Bulletin* 287, East Lansing, October, 1937 (pp. 47).

positive correlation among high standard of living, farm management scores, social participation, and leadership for the 240 records analyzed.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

"An Analysis of the Relief Population in Selected Areas of Maryland"⁶ includes seven sample counties and Baltimore City. Data for the study of the relief population of Baltimore were secured for the most part through personal interviews with every fourteenth case in the active file for the month of May. Substantially a 100 per cent sample of active relief cases receiving public assistance during October was obtained in seven counties with relatively large relief populations.

The analysis includes comparisons of age, sex, and race compositions of the relief and general population for the seven counties and Baltimore. Also a statement of the size of households, number of gainful workers in relief households, and socioeconomic type of usual occupation of heads of relief and non-relief families is included. Age, schooling, race, nativity, disabilities, and usual occupations of workers on relief as well as the length of experience in the usual occupation, the period of unemployment, and average weekly earnings and hours employed at nonrelief jobs in October, 1934, are presented.

As far as dependency resulting in emergency relief is concerned the depression was the greatest contributing factor in Baltimore. In some of the counties, however, depletion of natural resources, especially timber, coal, and sea food, was causing hardship even before the depression.

The relatively large number of elderly unemployables resulting from emigration of younger people and stranded workers who had been dependent upon coal and sea foods for part of their livelihood will require assistance in the future.

The history of unemployment relief in Arizona is presented in an agricultural experiment station bulletin.⁷ There is included a summary of the extent and distribution of relief assistance rendered, beginning with loans made for that purpose by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in October, 1932, and continued by the program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, Works Progress Administration, and Resettlement Administration to the end of 1936, when a diversified program of aid based principally upon work relief and loans was in existence. A survey of rural and town relief households in four Arizona counties in June, October, and December, 1935, indicates important trends. A statement of the outlook for return of the relief population to self-support is given. Also several case histories are included.

⁶ Theodore B. Manny and Harry G. Clowes, "An Analysis of the Relief Population in Selected Areas of Maryland," *Mimeograph Circular No. 1*, Social Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, Board of State Aid and Charities of State of Maryland, the Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, co-operating, College Park, August, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 77).

⁷ E. D. Tetreau, "Unemployment Relief in Arizona from October 1, 1932, through December 31, 1936, with a Special Analysis of Rural and Town Relief Households," *Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the Works Progress Administration, Bulletin No. 156*, Tucson, July, 1937 (pp. 128).

In Montana one person out of five in the rural areas (open country and places with less than 5,000 persons) was on relief in February, 1935. In urban areas this proportion was somewhat more, approximately three out of every 10 persons. Of a million dollar expenditure for relief in February, 1935, about 83 per cent went to relief families, 7 per cent to administrative costs, and an additional 10 per cent for materials, equipment, rent, and other costs, as well as wages for persons both on and off relief.

Twenty-nine per cent of the heads of relief families in five selected counties were 20 to 45 years of age, usually the period of highest earning in the life cycle of individuals. These and other facts relative to characteristics of the relief population and administration of relief in Montana are presented in an experiment station bulletin.⁸

A report⁹ includes the relief history of rural households which received public aid in the general program of the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration. Monthly turnover of cases, reasons for opening and closing cases, duration of relief, period of time cases had been without nonrelief employment, and types and amounts of relief are among the subjects treated.

"Characteristics of Arkansas Rehabilitation Clients"¹⁰ with respect to distribution by counties and types of farming areas; farming experience; race; age; reasons for relief and types of relief received; length of time on relief; mobility, both geographical and vertical during the last 20 years; size of households; number of dependents; birth rate; density of occupancy of houses; size or type of place of residence; occupation; size and type of farm; cotton yields, farm equipment, and livestock; indebtedness; educational attainments; and health, at the time of application for loans, are treated in a State Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin.

Basic data were the application forms of the 19,000 rehabilitation clients granted loans in 1935 and the 3,000 who were disapproved. The rehabilitation families were relatively large, their houses were overcrowded, and much necessary farm equipment was lacking. Ten per cent claimed to have health impairments, 85 per cent were in debt, 30 per cent had no canned goods, and 78 per cent had no canned meat.

The Works Progress Administration began the collection of current statistics of public and private relief in 385 selected rural and town areas throughout the United States in March, 1936. In previous issues this section of the *Rural Journal* has referred to the reports which summarize the findings concerning month

⁸ Carl F. Kraenzel, assisted by Ruth B. McIntosh, "The Relief Problem in Montana, A Study of the Change in the Character of the Relief Population," *Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 343*, Bozeman, Montana, June, 1937 (pp. 64).

⁹ B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, "Relief History Rural Emergency Relief Cases in Virginia, 1935," Social Research Division of Works Progress Administration and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, *Rural Relief Series, No. 3*, Blacksburg, Virginia, April, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 43).

¹⁰ W. T. Wilson and W. H. Metzler, "Characteristics of Arkansas Rehabilitation Clients," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 348*, Fayetteville, June, 1937 (pp. 47).

to month changes in the number of recipients and cost of relief in rural areas which might be typical of the entire rural population. Data for previous years beginning with 1932 have also been reported.¹¹

On July 1, 1937, complete responsibility for the continuance of the rural town reporting series was transferred to the Social Security Board.¹² In these monthly bulletins the public assistance payments have been analyzed according to (1) method of financing, (2) the nature of administrative responsibility, and (3) the classification of recipients. The five principal programs for administration of public assistance were (1) the Works Program, (2) emergency subsistence payments to farmers, (3) special types of public assistance under the Social Security Act, (4) similar special types of public assistance administered outside the Social Security Act, and (5) general relief. Most of the monthly bulletins include tables and charts which depict general trends of public assistance, as well as special programs of assistance rendered under the Social Security Act.

POPULATION MIGRATION

That the recent economic depression reduced the volume but failed to change the nature of the pattern of migration with respect to the distribution of migrants to country, village, and city is revealed by an Ohio study.¹³ Field enumerators interviewed 2,554 rural households located in ten rural townships and eight villages. Emphasis was placed upon movements of the resident population and adult children during the period 1928 to 1935.

Except in the urbanized northeastern section there was a net loss of population due to migration during the period from 1930 to 1935. Although similar in trend, the net loss was only two-thirds as heavy as it was during the previous decade, 1920 to 1930. This difference in net loss during the two periods was partly the result of a slower rate of emigration and partly a result of immigration. Persons reared in the areas studied shifted toward the rural districts after 1929. They gave preference to the villages as compared with the open country.

The findings indicate that there has been an accumulation of rural youth in the rural districts. Since 1930, failure to migrate has been at least twice as important as return migration in actuating this accumulation.

The net occupational change in the areas from 1928 to 1935 resulted in an increase in the proportion of male heads of families in the group of farm oper-

¹¹ Since the last reference to this series in this section of the Rural Journal, Vol. II, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, for the months since December, 1936, and January, 1937, have been received. "Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas," *Division of Social Research*, Rural Research Section, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research.

¹² "Public Assistance Statistics for the United States," *Bureau of Research and Statistics*, Division of Public Assistance Statistics, Social Security Board. Vol. II, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12 have been received. See also Social Security Board Publications, "Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas for June and July, 1937, and for the years 1932-1936." Vol. II No. 7, issued October, 1937, and "Relief in Rural and Town Areas for August, 1937," Vol. II, No. 8, November, 1937.

¹³ C. E. Lively and Frances Foott, "Population Mobility in Selected Areas of Rural Ohio, 1928-1935," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 582, Wooster, June, 1937 (pp. 53).

ators, both as owners and as tenants. Also the group of heads not gainfully employed was substantially increased. These changes represented an attempt on the part of wage workers to avoid unemployment and obtain occupational status of greater security, hence the shift to agriculture. Many were unable to do this, and consequently filled the ranks of the unemployed.

The gross occupational pattern of adult children who left home after 1920 was not markedly disturbed by the depression. However, children of migratory age after 1929 were seriously retarded in their occupational advancement.

Relief families made 40 per cent more moves and 100 per cent more changes of occupation than nonrelief families. Indices such as length of residence, number of changes of domicile, range of mobility, and occupational changes indicate that farm owners were the least mobile group.

The majority of families which moved tended to circulate about over a restricted area. Families which moved long distances proceeded directly to the destination by long jumps rather than short ones. There seemed to be an age cycle of mobility in which the tendency to change place of domicile decreased with age of head.

GENERAL RURAL SURVEYS

"Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties"¹⁴ have been reported in a United States Department of Agriculture bulletin. The four counties located in North Carolina and Kentucky were chosen for investigation because of high rates of dependency and increases in number of farmers and farms. The effect of the depression upon the people, their institutions, and industries is described. The report is based upon a field survey made in 1935 and census materials.

"A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama,"¹⁵ furnishes a concrete example of a type of social investigation designed to be of use in an action program, namely, that of rehabilitation of a county. Social institutions and agencies of the inhabitants in superior, intermediate, and inferior land use areas, as determined by the Land Use Planning section of the Resettlement Administration, are described. Also census data are used to indicate the population characteristics and changes.

The better land areas in the county are characterized by younger farm operators, larger farms, smaller families, fewer children, a greater number of literate parents, better schools, and a higher educational level of children than in the poorer areas. On the basis of analysis of land, population, community patterns,

¹⁴ L. S. Dodson, "Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties," U. S. Department of Agriculture; The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, *Social Research Report No. III*, Washington, October, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 151).

¹⁵ Karl Shafer, "A Basis for Special Planning in Coffee County, Alabama," *Social Research Report No. VI*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, Washington, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 48).

and transportation facilities, sites for future economic and social centers are recommended.

A field investigation¹⁶ of 289 families living in south Grafton County, New Hampshire, furnishes data on general resources, land utilization, population, composition, and level of living. On the basis of findings, recommendations for realignment of the people and changes in use of resources are made.

A physical, economic, and social survey of the Valley of the Kaskaskia River Basin in Illinois includes a section on the history of settlement written by a historian, on "Population and other socio-economic factors" written by a sociologist, and on "Problems of Education" written by a professor of education.¹⁷

A report on social life and level of living of 458 farm families located on a soil erosion control demonstration project is the result of a field investigation.¹⁸ The effect of age, income, stage in the life cycle of the family, and tenure status upon social activities is reviewed and appraised. Expenditures for food and clothing, and presence of certain housing facilities and reading material in the home indicate the level of living of the families.

The size and condition of farm buildings as indicated from outside appearance were used as a basis for classifying land in 11 New York counties. Poor dwellings were found on poor land, good dwellings on good land. Other correlatives of land use classes and their relations to roads, electricity, and reforestation are presented in an extension bulletin.¹⁹

RURAL ORGANIZATION AND AGENCIES

The rôle of organization, language, and certain customs of foreign settlers in the communities they and others established in South Dakota²⁰ indicates the process and progress of assimilation. The study places primary emphasis upon the churches, and in some instances lodges, as well as the mode and distribution of settlement of Scandinavian, Bohemian, and German-Russian groups. Census data, church, and other organization records and publications, as well as special historical documents, constitute the source material for the report. State maps indicating the county distribution of foreign stock and certain organizations are included.

"Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota—A Study of Trends,

¹⁶ Harry C. Woodworth, Max F. Abell, and John C. Holmes, "Land Utilization in New Hampshire," New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 298, Durham, June, 1937 (pp. 70).

¹⁷ *Physical, Economic, and Social Aspects of the Valley of the Kaskaskia River, State of Illinois*, The University of Illinois, The State Surveys, and certain State Departments, Urbana, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 298).

¹⁸ H. J. Bonser, "Social Life in the Crooked Creek Area," Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 345, Washington, May, 1937 (pp. 29).

¹⁹ T. E. LaMont, "Land Utilization and Classification in New York and Its Relation to Roads, Electricity, and Reforestation," *Cornell Extension Bulletin No. 372*, Ithaca, New York, March, 1937 (pp. 59).

²⁰ John P. Johansen, "Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization in South Dakota," South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 313, Brookings, June 1937 (pp. 63).

1926 to 1936"²¹ is based upon reports of the Federal Census, publications of various departments of the state, and interviews and correspondence with state and other officers of social agencies. Included in the investigation are the following: Educational agencies involving schools, agricultural extension service and experiment stations, libraries, fairs, and newspapers; health agencies including physicians, dentists, hospitals, and public health nurses; religious agencies including churches, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and W. C. T. U.; social and recreational agencies including fraternal orders, war veterans' organizations, farmers' organizations, men's and women's clubs, youth organizations, musical organizations, community clubs, and parent-teacher associations; and commercial recreational agencies including pool halls, beer parlors, public dance halls, and motion picture houses.

Trends in the number and distribution of these agencies during the period 1926-36 are recorded. Their number and distribution according to geographical location and size of community are designated. Indication of their stability is registered in their "birth" and "death" rates. Attention is given to their adjustment to population density and changes.

The state's 13 per cent decrease in number of children nine years of age and under, from 1920 to 1930, resulted in a decrease in number of elementary schools and their enrollment. Such population changes will later affect other organizations such as the high schools, the number and enrollment of which are still increasing. Correlation coefficients indicate that the denser the population of a county the less the number of social agencies per 1,000 inhabitants. On the basis of number of persons to be served, sparsely settled counties might be considered as "over-organized." However, because of the distance factor they are really "under-organized."

There is a trend toward the location of churches and social and recreational agencies for adults in the larger population centers of the state.

A North Carolina Experiment Station bulletin²² describes two local farmers' co-operatives. The study includes an analysis of efficiency based upon 14 criteria. Patrons were interviewed to ascertain their general characteristics and knowledge concerning the organization and its management, and to determine attitudes relative to policies.

Only about 1,700 of 3,073 rural counties had any general hospital operated by governmental, voluntary, or profit agencies in 1934. Thus 1,300 counties had no hospitals. Allowing two beds per 1,000 population, and a distance of 50 miles from the hospital center there was a need for 22,000 new hospital beds for the country in 1934. However, before a rural community or county attempts to build a hospital it should know many facts. A United States Department of

²¹ Donald G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota, A Study of Trends, 1926 to 1936," North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 288*, Fargo, July, 1937 (pp. 90). •

²² S. L. Clement, "The Organization, Practices, and Membership Participation of Two North Carolina Farm Co-operatives," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 311*, Raleigh, July, 1937 (pp. 105).

Agriculture bulletin²³ prepared under the direction of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life sets forth many of these facts, including estimates of building and operating costs, suggestions concerning size, selecting a building site, plan, organization and administration, floor and elevation. Plans for small hospitals and facts concerning rural hospitals in operation are included.

FARM LABOR

Arizona's seasonal needs for farm labor on irrigated farms are extremely unevenly distributed. "If any 1,000 man days are divided throughout the year as used from month to month, there are only 29 man days used during February, the lowest employment month, as contrasted with 183 man days used during November, the month of highest employment." The seasonal needs of Arizona for farm labor on irrigated farms are less evenly distributed throughout the year than are those for farm laborers in California, and more evenly distributed than are those for farm laborers in Yakima Valley, Washington. These and other findings presented in a brief report²⁴ are largely the results of field studies.

A series of bulletins dealing with the social and economic conditions of farm laborers in 11 counties has been released.²⁵ Data concerning the earnings, social status, length of employment, method of securing employment, employment of various members of the family, family composition, age, race, and sex of farm laborers are included. Reports are available for the following counties. Placer County, California; Archuleta County, Colorado; Livingston County, Illinois; Hamilton County, Iowa; Pawnee County, Kansas; Todd County, Kentucky; Concordia Parish, Louisiana; Lac qui Parle County, Minnesota; Wayne County, Pennsylvania; Fentress County, Tennessee; and Karnes County, Texas.

The average cost of living of 176 Spanish-speaking households of sugar beet farm laborers on relief in Weld County, Colorado, was \$456. The average cash income of 192 relief cases was \$136, or \$78 per person. Dwellings had an average of two and a half persons per room. One-fourth of the children, aged 6 to 15 inclusive, had no school attendance record during 1935-36. These and other facts indicate the low material level of living of the cases which averaged 5.6 persons. The study²⁶ is based on field interviews and relief records of approximately one-fourth of the Spanish-speaking cases, the heads of which were

²³ Blanche Halbert, "Hospitals for Rural Communities," Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, *Farmers Bulletin No. 1792*, Washington (pp. 41).

²⁴ E. D. Tetreau, *Seasonal Labor on Arizona Irrigated Farms*, Tucson, Arizona, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 12).

²⁵ Tom Vasey and Josiah C. Folsom, "Survey of Agricultural Labor Conditions in Placer County, California," United States Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, Washington, D. C., October, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 14).

The other 10 publications of the series have similar designations with the exception of the counties, states, and dates of publication.

²⁶ Olaf F. Larson, "Beet Workers on Relief in Weld County, Colorado," Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station and Division of Social Research, Federal Works Progress Administration, *Research Bulletin 4*, Fort Collins, May, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 31).

beet workers on relief in Weld County. This county grew 41 per cent of Colorado's sugar beet acreage in 1935

LAND TENURE

A report entitled "Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries"²⁷ classifies the types of tenure or property rights of new settlers in England (and Wales), Scotland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as falling into three categories: ownership, tenancy, and mixed-tenure arrangements. The various tenure policies are described and their advantages and disadvantages given. ". . . practically all the English settlers have preferred to be settled as tenants of the county councils, that is, as public tenants.

"In Scotland, the majority of the new holdings have been established on publicly owned land and are operated under public mixed tenure. In Germany, most of the settlers have been placed on the land under restricted ownership of the rental holding type. In Denmark, mixed tenure seems to gain more and more adherents.

"From the available evidence, it appears that in many land settlement schemes restricted tenures have met with considerable success in warding off such dangers as inefficient use or abuse of the land, the diversion of the land to nonagricultural purposes, undesirable subdivision or enlargement, overburdening with indebtedness, speculation, and other unwanted developments."

"Farm Tenancy in the United States, 1918-1936"²⁸ is a bibliography prepared by the Library of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. The publication has three main sections. "The first contains references of a general nature; the second, references arranged by geographical divisions of the United States; and the third, references arranged by states. The third section is followed by a short list of additional references added after the bibliography was completed. An author and subject index is appended." In all, 1,070 references are listed. The descriptions of the scope of the separate publications add to the usefulness of the publication.

PART-TIME FARMING

Part-time farming does not always filter off the bitterness of depression. A Connecticut Experiment Station bulletin²⁹ indicates as much. Analysis of 968 records taken from all but one per cent of the households in Montville, Connecticut, led to this conclusion. The study, made in 1935, compares families

²⁷ Erich Kraemer, "Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries," United States Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, *Social Research Report No. 2*, Washington, September, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 92).

²⁸ "Farm Tenancy in the United States, 1918-1936," compiled by Louise O. Bercaw, under the direction of Mary G. Lacy, Librarian, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No. 70*, Washington, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 306).

²⁹ Nathan L. Whetten and Walter C. McKain, Jr., "A Sociological Analysis of Relief and Non-Relief Families in a Rural Connecticut Town," Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 219*, Storrs, Connecticut, July, 1937 (pp. 79).

receiving relief with families not receiving relief during the five-year period 1930 to 1934. Also the report reveals causes of Montville's relatively high relief rate. Lack of activity of the industries in the cities could scarcely account for the high relief rate nor could recent migration into the town. The relief policy of the towns as well as the state was responsible in part for the high relief rate.

SELECTING FAMILIES FOR RESETTLEMENT

In "An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects,"⁸⁰ the experience of many agencies is revealed. Available capital, technical knowledge of agriculture which was chiefly gained through experience, and a size and age-sex composition of the family which is correctly adjusted to the size and type of farm are practical considerations essential for success in farming. Also a favorable attitude toward farm life including "a wish to farm and a willingness to sacrifice comforts and other values when necessary," religiosity or loyalty to an idealistic group if this tends to sanctify agricultural virtues, community co operative ability, character, stability and a sense of responsibility, good health and stamina of the family members, and a co-operative and harmonious family life are important. A rudimentary education, to the extent that additional education is in harmony with a favorable attitude toward farm life, as well as intelligence, alertness resourcefulness, and judgment, is essential. Each of these qualifications is treated separately and its relative importance appraised.

Methods of selection employed by the Bureau of Reclamation, Division of Subsistence Homesteads, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) are discussed.

RURAL YOUTH

Organizations sponsored by the church were attended by a greater number of rural youth in Missouri than any other organizations. Out of 113 recreational activities now engaged in, reading, attending movies and shows, and going to parties were found to be most popular. The young people would most prefer to learn to play golf, dance, and play the piano. Approximately 4 out of 10 who were to be graduated from high school planned to continue their formal education. Only one-fifth of the farm boys intended to continue farming after high school graduation. Occupations preferred by most boys were farming, aviation, and engineering. Those preferred by girls were stenography, teaching, nursing, and beauty culture.

These are some of the findings of a study⁸¹ of 2,297 young people, aged 16 to 24, living on farms and places less than 5,000 population in 12 counties in

⁸⁰ John Holt, "An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects," Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, *Social Research Report No. 1*, Washington, September, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 54).

⁸¹ E. L. Morgan and Melvin W. Sneed, "The Activities of Rural Young People in Missouri, A Survey of 2,297 Young People Attending High School," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Research Bulletin* 269, Columbia, November, 1937 (pp. 68).

Missouri. All senior high schools in the counties were visited for the purpose of administering schedules to pupils. Comparisons are made for males and females in both farm and nonfarm situations, with respect to previous residence, length of residence in the present community, family living conveniences, home responsibilities, work and earnings outside the home, organizational affiliations and participation, leadership responsibilities in these organizations, extent of the interest of young people in existing community organizations, and leisure time activities, desires, and needs. Certain comparisons were made with a similar Missouri study made 10 years earlier.

"An Appraisal of Rural Sociology, Its Accomplishments and Its Tasks" constitutes a special issue of *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*.²² The document attempts to answer the question: What has research in rural sociology accomplished from a scientific and an extension point of view? A classification of current research projects, an appraisal of future needs and prospects, and an outline of the content of present-day rural sociology is included.

In addition, the following bulletins have been received:

Ohio State Planning Board, *Future Population of the State of Ohio*, Estimates of the State of Ohio and Its Counties, Its Eight Metropolitan Districts, and Its Cities of 25,000 or more Inhabitants, up to 1960. Columbus, Ohio, January, 1937.

William Peterson, "Federal Irrigation Reclamation in Relationship to Agricultural Policy," Utah Extension Service, *New Series Circular No. 92*, Logan, March, 1937.

Maynard Calvin Conner and William E. King, "An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County," *University of Virginia Record Extension Series Vol. XXI, No. 6*, University of Virginia, January, 1937.

James Lawrence and Basil Williams, "An Economic and Social Survey of Westmoreland County," *University of Virginia Record Extension Series Vol. XXI, No. 4*, University of Virginia.

The Washington County Farm Bureau, *Building Farm Life*, Vermont Agricultural Extension Service, Montpelier, October, 1936.

Public Assistance Monthly Statistics for the United States, Vol. II, No. 5, Social Security Board, Washington, May, 1937 (pp. 8).

Normal J. Wall, "Federal Credit for Agricultural Co-operative Associations in the United States," Division of Agricultural Co-operation, Pan American Union, *Series on Co-operatives No. 5*, Washington, March, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 36).

Consumers' Co-operative Societies, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, September, 1936 (mimeographed, pp. 68).

"Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Virginia Social Science

²² "An Appraisal of Rural Sociology, Its Accomplishments and Its Tasks," Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Washington, January 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 32).

- Association Held at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Radford State Teachers' College, May 7 and 8, 1937," *Bulletin of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute*, Vol. XXX, No. 8, Blacksburg, June, 1937 (pp. 68).
- Roger J. Bounds, *A Bibliography on the Reorganization and Consolidation of Local Governments*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, Washington, D. C., 1936 (mimeographed, pp. 16).
- Paul A. Fke and Harold F. Brown, "Influence of Tenancy on Types of Farming," Idaho Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 222, Moscow, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 29).
- Gladys L. Palmer and Katherine D. Wood, "Urban Workers on Relief," Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, *Research Monograph IV*, Washington, 1936 (pp. 189).
- The Preparation of Statistical Tables, A Handbook*, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 32).
- W. R. Gordon and B. E. Gilbert, "Recreation and the Use of Land in Washington County," Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* No. 258, Kingston, May, 1937 (pp. 83).
- "L'Oeuvre d'Education Rural—Du Gouvernement du President Vincent," Service National de la Production Agricole et de L'Enseignement Rural, *Bulletin Number* 8, 1936 (pp. 32).
- E. H. Reed and J. I. Falconer, "The Effect of Land Use and Management on Erosion," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 585, Wooster, July, 1937 (pp. 19).
- "Local Government in New Jersey," Princeton Local Government Survey, *Local Government Bulletin* No. 3, Princeton, New Jersey, 1936 (pp. 15).
- J. H. Sitterley and J. I. Falconer, "The Farm Business from 1929 to 1935 on One Hundred Forty-one Ohio Farms," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 587, Wooster, Ohio, October, 1937 (pp. 22).
- Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, *The Message of the Encyclicals for America Today*, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., May, 1936 (pp. 12).
- Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, *For the Improvement of Rural Life*, Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., October, 1935 (pp. 20).
- The Encyclicals and Agriculture*, Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., May, 1936 (pp. 10).

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out. By Eyler N. Simpson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xxi, 849. \$5.00.

This book is an important landmark for students of rural Mexico, and deals with a subject which should be of interest to rural sociologists in general. It is the most important work which has appeared in this field since McBride's *Land Systems of Mexico*. The book is based on the research and personal experience of the author, who spent some eight years in Mexico and was a representative of the Institute of World Affairs. It contains a foreword by Lic. Ramón Beteta, *Director General de Estadística Nacional* of Mexico.

The word *ejido* is derived from the Latin *exire, exitum*—"to go out," "the way out." As originally used in Spain the term was applied to uncultivated lands held collectively, and located on the outskirts (on the way out) of agrarian communities. In Mexico at the present time the word is used to refer to all types of lands which have been restored or granted to agricultural communities, under the land reform initiated in 1915. By extension the word is also used to designate the communities possessing such lands (p. viii).

As implied in the title, the book is hung on the thesis that the *ejido*, modified according to specifications drawn up by the author, is Mexico's way out. The work is divided into three parts: "The Origins of the Ejido," "The Ejido in Being—Problems and Progress," and "The Future of the Ejido." In the first part, consisting of 127 pages, the author traces much of the agrarian history of Mexico in order to show the origin and the development of the modern *ejido*. The prototype of the *ejido* was found among the more settled of the ancient Mexicans in preconquest days. The "tribe" was the largest political and social unit and was made up of a number of kinship groups known as *calpulli* (clans). The *calpulli* usually consisted of several households, and a village ordinarily contained several *calpulli*. The village lands (*al tepetalli*) were held in common, and each kinship group was assigned a definite part for its use. The agricultural land was in turn distributed by the kinship group among the various heads of families. "Usufruct was transmissible from father to son, and boundaries were jealously guarded, but apparently there was no sense of private individual ownership in the Roman sense of *uti, frui, abuti*. That individual private property did not exist either in theory or in deed is shown by the facts: (a) that if a given plot was not cultivated for two successive years it was subject to forfeiture; (b) that lots could not be permanently transferred to members of another *calpulli* (although they could be rented on shares under certain conditions); and

(c) that if a family became extinct or moved away, its tract reverted to the clan and was either reassigned or held in reserve for future needs" (pp. 4-5).

The author points out that some of the traditions and customs brought over by the Spaniards served to strengthen the institution of the landholding village, while other practices tended to encourage the private ownership of land. The latter institution developed along feudal lines into the *hacienda system*. During succeeding centuries a struggle for ownership and control of land took place between the landholding village, or *ejido*, and the *hacienda*, with the latter gradually acquiring a strangling hold until near the end of the *Díaz régime*, when the conflict culminated in the Mexican revolution. The author stresses the fact that agrarian reform was the principal reason for the revolution, and that the *ejido* gradually "emerged at the focus and most important objective of the reform." Nevertheless, by the year 1933 serious doubts had crept in, concerning both the accomplishments and the advisability of continuing with the *ejido* program, and the revolutionary leaders had divided into two factions—one conservative, the other liberal. The author skilfully traces through the entanglement of laws relating to the *ejido* and shows to what extent they were translated into action.

Part II is concerned with the amount of land distributed and the various problems encountered. Two of the difficulties encountered are the smallness of the holdings and the absence of water. Other problems described are the financing of grants to villages, economic and social education, political organization and social control, and credit and markets.

Part III contains the author's specifications for modifying the *ejido* and his arguments supporting the thesis that the *ejido* is the way out.

One of the most valuable features of the work is the presence of six case studies of *ejido* villages illustrating the various problems encountered. An appendix is included containing 225 pages. In this are found 93 statistical tables, a check list of laws and executive orders relating to the reform, and other related data.

The prescriptions of the author include the extension of the *ejido* system to *all* of the agricultural land in Mexico. "Eventually all agricultural real property in Mexico, except such areas as the federal government may, for the good of the whole country, see fit to hold in trust as national forests, parks, and agricultural reserves, must be held collectively and be exploited co-operatively by agrarian communities" (p. 512). This conclusion will appear extreme and somewhat *Utopian* in character to many, especially in view of the author's excellent discussion of the difficulties and obstacles which the *ejido* program has thus far encountered, such as wide variations in climatic and topographical conditions, smallness of the holdings, and socio-political obstacles. On page 512 the author's reasoning appears to imply that the revolutionary character of the recommendations is in itself partial justification for carrying them out. On that page he says: ". . . any and all attempts to curtail the *ejido* program or to distort the collectivistic conception of the *ejido* cannot be regarded otherwise than as efforts to weaken and eventually and inevitably to destroy the only truly revolutionary thing the Mexican agrarian movement has produced. For it should be obvious

that there is nothing revolutionary about an undertaking merely to redistribute landholdings."

At times the enthusiasm of the author for the *ejido* program leads him to make rather sweeping and dogmatic statements which could stand considerable qualification. Thus in speaking of industrialization of Mexico he says on page 555: "There is *nothing under the sun* which can prevent this process from continuing"; on page 557 he says: "—these are some of the techniques and procedures of industrialism of which Mexico *can and must* take advantage"; and on page 558: "The process of industrialism *can and must* be submitted to social control." (Italics are the reviewer's.)

Although some will question the soundness of some of the recommendations of the author, all will recognize the valuable contribution which he has made relative to the understanding of the Mexican revolution and the agrarian developments in Mexico.

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N. L. WHETTEN

Government in Rural America. By Lane W. Lancaster. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv, 416. \$2.85.

Many, if not most, of the older books on rural government were projected mainly from the standpoint of the legal foundations and the formal structure of those units of government most immediately concerned with rural localities. Lancaster takes a more realistic approach in trying to construct a careful picture of government in rural areas as service institutions, performing more or less effectively a wide variety of functions. His reason for this treatment appears in the preface, "Men are indeed ingenious in devising laws; they are often ever more ingenious in ignoring them. What I have tried to keep steadily in mind is the fact that government on the local level is an affair of personal prejudices, ambitions, hopes, and aspirations of real people who are immersed for the most in other matters, and who give but spasmodic and not always well-informed attention to the business of governing themselves."

Approximately the first half of the book is given over to a discussion of the framework of existing units of rural local government in their historic backgrounds and present-day forms, and the important implications involved in our system of decentralized administration of state-determined functions in the hands of locally-determined personnel. State-local relationships are also considered in some detail. The reader cannot fail to be impressed by the dismal picture of ineffective, unco-ordinated, and decentralized activities that are described. The inflexibility of governmental forms and procedures in the face of rapid and profound changes in socio-economic conditions is well brought out.

The author believes that a decided increase in centralized bureaucracy is inevitable, as rural (and also urban) societies become more complex and more insistent in their demands that governments assume added functions, and expand existing ones. The way to avoid the evils that arise when bureaucracy becomes an end in itself (an ever present temptation to the bureaucrats themselves) is to

democratize more completely our educational facilities, and to encourage increased activity in governmental affairs on the part of civic organizations. However, staunch advocates of decentralization who read this volume are not likely to be won over to the idea of centralization by the author's treatment of the subject.

The next half dozen chapters take up a series of "service activities" commonly performed by government for rural areas including police, justice, roads, education, welfare, and health. Much of the content of these chapters reads like a textbook on rural life problems, though the major emphasis is placed upon the rôle of governments in meeting such problems. The shortcomings of the existing governmental machinery are pointed out. In going over this material, one gets the impression that the time-honored forms and methods cannot be modernized with any marked success. Likewise, because of the traditional conservatism of rural people, Lancaster does not expect rapid or sweeping changes. Some progress may be made through extensions of state and Federal grants-in-aid to local areas, provided that areas accepting such aid are required to accept more supervision from state or Federal administrators. Yet in many instances, isn't this akin to taking a narcotic to ease pain, instead of trying to discover and remove its causes?

In the closing chapter, entitled "The Reorganization of Local Government" appear the author's suggestions for getting us out of our present dilemma. Among the specific changes recommended are the abolition of township governments and assigning the present functions to larger units; consolidating counties here and there where economically advantageous and otherwise desirable; transferring the following functions from local governments to the state: roads, public health, relief and welfare, schools, tax assessment, election administration, judicial administration, and crime control; and retaining in the counties such functions as recording legal documents, parks, forests, community halls, libraries, playgrounds, and rural zoning activities. The county manager plan, inter-area co-operation in providing certain facilities and services for the combined areas, and a great reduction in the number of counties through large-scale consolidation are considered to be of less merit than the preceding series of changes.

In the mind of this reviewer, Lancaster's book is significant in that it evidences a closer integration of political science, economics, sociology, and psychology, dealing realistically with human problems that somehow refuse to remain long boxed up in the traditional "pigeon holes," built by the enthusiasts of classification and specialization.

University of Maryland

T. B. MANNY

Of the Earth Earthy: How Our Fathers Dwelt Upon and Wooed the Earth. By Marion Nicholl Rawson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1937. Pp. 414. \$5.00.

Voices from the Fields: A Book of Country Songs by Farming People. Edited by Russell Lord. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. Pp. xxiii, 166. \$2.00.

The biological and cultural life of man is rooted in the soil. It is also a com-

monoplace that cities are dependent upon the country for population and raw materials, that they are largely parasitic exploiters of rural society. It is not so obvious that modern technology and art are also rooted in the soil. These two books are source materials supporting this thesis.

Mrs. Rawson shows how the foundations of the machine age were laid by countless rural workmen striving to win economic advantage from the reluctant earth. She does not draw this inference but intelligent readers will. She is primarily an antiquarian, but she has quarried much information essential for understanding our culture. Her delightful prose and hundred sixty line-drawings tell a fascinating story of how our ancestors, by common sense, ingenuity and hard work, laid the foundations without which science could not have erected our imposing industrial superstructure. The use of the six mechanical and seven manipulative principles, (leeching, burning, boiling, distilling, drying, baking, and grinding) all products of common sense, are still fundamental in science. She shows how these were applied in dealing with water, minerals, woods, fibers and plants, lime, stone, paint, ships, iron working, salt, brewing, and so on, for thirty-two vivid chapters.

The development of these skills and the associated artifacts for over two hundred and fifty years goes far to explain our present technological virtuosity. We became machine-minded because we had been tool-handed for centuries. Perhaps it also explains why a Soviet factory built by American engineers to produce 15,000 tractors a year succeeds in turning out only a few thousands, most of which are defective. It takes time to produce a technological culture. The Soviets may hasten the process by "purgation," education, and propaganda, but there is no real substitute for the slow, organic growth which Mrs. Rawson has so well described.

Mr. Lord's book offers evidence that art, or poetry at least, is also rooted in the soil. Odum and associates have also shown this for poetry, prose, and music. Farm papers have always printed the "literary efforts" of their readers. Most of them have printed rural poetry. In 1931, *Country Home* offered a weekly prize for the best poem by anyone who had never before submitted verse to an editor. Since then, Mr. Lord has read over 20,000 contributions. This book contains about a hundred and fifty of these.

Many are of undoubted poetic merit; some of the authors are real minor poets by anybody's standards; they are plain, simple, country people who love the earth so deeply and the farmer's life so well that "they cannot choose but sing." The clichés of the sophisticated are often expressions of true poetic feeling among simple people. I know many farmers who have a "strain of inarticulate poetry" in them. The almost universal custom of "looking over the farm" on Sundays and holidays is as much "poetic" as economic, although most farmers would never think of giving any but the latter reason; early rising is as often esthetic as economic; there is a kind of artistry in the "itch to get at" the plowing and reaping, in the love of well-turned furrows and excellently-built stacks. It is a kind of overt, manual creativeness very close to poetry. It is certainly part of the resentment at crop limitation and the deep sense of injustice when "the more you

raise the less you make ' Voices from the Fields is full of evidence that these sentiments are real, they spring from the earth source of all life—they are of the earth earthy "

So it is not accidental that creative men in all fields are never far removed in space or time from the fertile fields of Mother Earth, source of our life and sustainer of our culture To her, all creative men must frequently return to replenish their dwindling powers Any culture too far removed from the soil sooner or later becomes feeble, superficial, and decadent

Miami University

READ BAIN

Social and Cultural Dynamics, Volume One *Fluctuations of Forms of Art* (Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music, Literature, and Criticism) By Pitirim A Sorokin New York American Book Company, 1937 Pp xxi, 745 \$6 00

The first volume of Sorokin's *magnum opus* opens with a theoretical introduction of 191 pages which dwarfs even the methodological note of the *Polish Peasant* or the Appendix of Pareto's *Traite general* Here the author clears the way by mowing down the theories of whole regiments of scholars with the same machine gun criticism that marked his *Contemporary Sociological Theories* He then advances his own ideas, which are somewhat as follows All the interrelations of culture can be reduced to four basic types (1) Spatial or Mechanical Adjacency, (2) Association Due to an External Factor, (3) Causal or Functional Integration (4) Internal or Logico meaningful Unity The last he thinks should be studied by means of the logico meaningful method The essence of this, he says, is in the finding of the central principle which permeates all the components, and in this way makes cosmos of a chaos of unintegrated fragments Thereupon he classifies culture mentalities into four primary systems, Ideational, Sensate, Idealistic, and Mixed The Ideational mentality emphasizes the spiritual, the Sensate, the fleshy Out of the first three types emerge the logically integrated subtypes, Ascetic Ideational, Active Sensate (Epicureans), Active Ideational, Idealistic, Passive Sensate, Cynical Sensate, and Pseudo Ideational Their resemblance to W I Thomas' moribund personality formulas, the Philistine, the Bohemian, and the Creative Man is readily noticed

Armed with these methodological concepts, the author proceeds with all the valor of an intellectual Don Quixote to attack anew that vast and perennial question of the philosophers of history, Does history repeat itself Denying any perpetual trends or identical cycles, he maintains the existence of 'variably recurrent patterns,' and tries to demonstrate their presence in the field of art, chiefly in Western Europe In great detail for painting and sculpture, more briefly for architecture, music, and literature, he finds recurrent waves of Ideational, Sensate, and Idealistic types over a period of some twenty five centuries, waves, moreover, which have been approximately synchronous among these several branches of art He therefore reaches the conclusion that 'all the arts of the

culture studied have been integrated logically and causally to a high degree; that all the fine arts of these cultures are part of one living unity, the manifestation of one system; and that therefore when this culture begins to undergo the process of transformation, they all naturally follow the same path and change in the same direction."

In the stupendous and very difficult task undertaken in this work, which was largely financed by the Harvard Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, Sorokin has had the services of many assistants. The claims which are made for the results are in keeping with the magnitude of the project, and deserve a critical evaluation.

The logico-meaningful method is recommended and demonstrated as a technique for the understanding of logically or "meaningfully" integrated cultures, but it is not clear that the author claims for it any value apart from this specific problem: "Logico-meaningful unities can be looked for only in the field of . . . human culture." He holds that a culture trait is logically integrated if it can be shown to be logically consistent with some major premise, or if it is felt to be internally consistent. His argument that what is felt to be consistent does not depend a great deal on chance association, however, is not convincing. Many readers will continue to regard feeling alone as a very unreliable basis for judging the consistency of traits, especially in an alien culture. In regard to his more formal "logical" criterion this objection does not hold. Apparently, in using the logico-meaningful method, one posits an hypothesis that the mentality of a culture is logically integrated in accordance with, say, the Sensate premise, and then examines a number of traits to see if they confirm the assumptions. The value of such a procedure evidently depends on the extent to which culture is logically integrated, on how reliably logical integration can be determined, and on the usefulness of the fact that certain traits are integrated with respect to a given premise.

On the first point no estimate is, or probably could be, furnished for any culture; but the study of art fluctuations discovers a surprising ramification of logical integration in a number of cultures.

Regarding the second point, since the logical method by definition uses subjective criteria, we should expect it to encounter well-known difficulties. That it does so soon appears. In applying the technique to the problem of art trends on a grand scale, the author labels the forms of art in various cultures and ages as Ideational, Sensate, Idealistic, and the like, so that the method reduces to classification. Yet the reviewer found it hard to isolate any logical principle or group of principles that for him satisfactorily differentiated these highly abstract concepts. There seemed to be in the Sensate idea, for illustration, a tangle of loosely defined criteria such as realism, sensuousness, content, style, and so on. The situation with which Sorokin had to deal can be somewhat appreciated if the reader will consider how he would like the task of sorting one hundred average citizens into the personality classes Ascetic Ideational, Active Sensate, Active Ideational, Idealistic, Passive Sensate, Cynical Sensate, and Pseudo-Ideational, especially if his reputation depended on classifying them as the author might! Fortunately

for the present study, in the case of Italian art, a rough correspondence was found between two independent samples, and, as Sorokin points out, "the materials in the different fields of culture exhibit a notable agreement with one another."

Perhaps another symptom of the same sort of difficulty is the reviewer's feeling that the author's interpretations are sometimes no more "logical" than their opposites. Does an increase in the percentage of female portraits indicate a growing *Sensate* mentality, or a changing status of women which makes them less exclusively sex objects than formerly? Why is a church with a "gorgeous" interior but a plain exterior *Ideational*, while one with a gorgeous exterior is *Sensate*? Is exaggerated femininity more "Visual" than exaggerated masculinity ("athleteism")? On such points, how many independent investigators would agree?

Relative to the value of a discovery that certain traits are logically integrated, much appears to depend on the extent to which a trait is determined by a logical premise. In the author's demonstration, most of the cultures examined were so well known that it would be impossible to say how much circular reasoning was unintentionally involved. It is highly probable that a trait never derives from a logical premise alone, but is the product of many factors, so that very different traits flow from similar premises in different cultures and times. For these reasons, one would not expect a knowledge of logical integration to have much predictive value. By definition, apparently, logical integration does not imply an understanding of causes or processes. From this point of view, it is a preliminary approach. As such, its distinctive value seems to lie in the fact that it may succeed in combining into a *Gestalt* some of the recalcitrant traits of a culture that resist causal integration, and thereby contribute to mental economy and order. That a logical or other classification of culture traits may be useful for some specific purpose is shown by Sorokin's investigation of art changes. The premise must of course be chosen to suit the purpose, as in any classification.

Quite aside from any considerations of method, the part that logic plays in the development of a culture is of course interesting and important.

After classifying into his categories a number of cultures and their fine arts, Sorokin finds that "the general mentality and the style of art" are "observably integrated." A reader would be justified, however, in asking whether the indices which are used to judge the "mentality" of a culture are always representative of the whole culture, or whether such elements as religious and philosophical writings are given too much weight. Large parts of a society may be inarticulate or otherwise leave little trace of their mentality. Especially in the case of ancient civilizations is there likelihood that the surviving fragments may be atypical.

The author well summarizes the dangers that beset such a study as his, if made on a qualitative basis. It is doubtful, however, to what extent some of these objections are removed by the crude quantitative methods which he is able to employ. For example, the presence of association between tendencies in art is apparently decided by a general similarity or lack of similarity in the appearance of a group of rough trend lines. Since it is as likely that two lines will both rise or both fall over a period as that one will rise and the other fall, chance can

readily account for broad resemblances of this kind. Interpretation is further complicated by the fact that the several lines represent phenomena that have variously overlapping definitions. Luckily, the author's general knowledge of the subject is some safeguard here.

It is regrettable that the study was not able to consider more adequately the degree to which the Sensate and Ideational art forms are repeated. Obviously, any phenomenon may be regarded as recurrent if it is defined broadly enough. The reviewer does not feel that any major conclusions are invalidated on this account, but it is certain that some of the author's categories are so wide that they they may sometimes conceal as much as they reveal.

Readers will be impressed by Sorokin's personal conviction that the same cycles of art that have been observed in the past will continue indefinitely in the future. In objection, it may be asked, among other things, what the effect would be if belief in a life after death were permanently removed from a culture by advancing knowledge. The author does not rest his belief on any theoretical necessity.

The chief impression which this work is apt to leave on most readers is that of its gigantic scope. Hundreds of difficult questions are asked and answered in some way. When the obstacles that beset the path of careful researchers, who try to answer a single limited question in a trustworthy way, are recalled, one is amazed by the author's willingness to undertake such a project in the spirit of scientific research. As a philosophical adventure it is easily understandable. Actually, this volume is a queer hybrid of the two points of view. One wonders if the main thesis, that there are fluctuations in art, could not have been more convincingly established if a circumscribed and better controlled study had been made of the art of one culture, say that of Italy. Sorokin's idea, however, was different, and seems to be well expressed by a Latin phrase appearing somewhere in the book: "Ut aliae bonae res, ita bonus liber melior est quisque, quo major," which he translates, "The bigger the better!"

University of Wisconsin

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

A Puritan Outpost. By Herbert Collins Parsons. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. xiii, 546. \$5.00.

Middletown in Transition. By Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1937. Pp. xviii, 604. \$5.00.

The eminent social administrator who is author of *A Puritan Outpost*, an account of Northfield, Massachusetts, from 1672 to the present, has provided an object lesson. Community histories which are not sociologically oriented do not necessarily supply all the raw materials desired by the sociologist. There is no organized treatment of the class structure, the economic organization, adjustments to depression and new technologies, the informal controls of group pressure, the processes through which the intellectual élite emerge and other subjects of this sort. One basic change which is noted is the displacement of the original town population: 90 per cent are of New England ancestry in 1873 and 30 per cent in 1936. The author has more than fulfilled his chosen task of providing

a narrative account of this school town. As a background for sociological study of this area it cannot be ignored.

The data which the Lynds have assembled in their second study of Middletown are of primary importance for an understanding of its structure and functioning. This work bristles with astute insights into the day to day life of Middletown's citizenry in prosperity and depression. It represents a decided advance over the earlier volume. New sources of information have been tapped and earlier hypotheses have been checked. But theoretical analysis is still subordinated to facts about 'Getting a Living,' Caring for the Unable, Training the Young, and the like. A central, sociological conceptual scheme for unifying the observed facts is still needed. This is in part recognized by the Lynds themselves.

The remarks of residents, although they are not always taken at their face value, are seldom submitted to the type of analysis which has proved so fruitful in the hands of Pareto, Malinowski, Roethlisberger, and Dollard. Many of the comments are treated as instances of homely wisdom, as more or less accurate observations upon the immediate social scene. This is the technique of the reporter, and in this field the Lynds probably have no peer among sociologists. But conversations and comments which are treated in this fashion lose the essential advantage of the informal interview over the formal questionnaire. Undirected conversations afford clues to the emotional foci and supports of the social system. For the most part, they are not statements of fact, but expressions of sentiments.

This volume is certainly not devoid of interpretation. There is a careful examination of the conflicts arising from the demands of the immediate economic situation and the obstacles to adjustment which derive from a resistant social structure. The depression has led to relatively few changes in Middletown although the materials suggest that this rigidity is cultural rather than social. The old cultural symbols persisted even when the associated behavior was modified. Middletown was caring for the unable in a fashion which, though niggardly, ran counter to most of its individualistic, self-made man, self-maintained man, credo.

The value of this study is not bounded by the authors' analysis. It has provided us with useful field observations, stressing the interrelatedness of institutions, which provide a valuable introduction to the sociology of community life.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

Creative India By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsī Dass, 1937. Pp. x, 714. Rs. 15/.

Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East Vol. I, *Champa*. By R. C. Majumdar. Lahore, India: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927. Pp. xxiv, 227. Rs. 15/.

The Land System in South India. By Kishorī Mohan Gupta. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsī Dass, 1933. Pp. ix, 339. Rs. 10/.

The Wild Tribes in Indian History. By B. A. Saletore. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsī Dass, 1935. Pp. xv, 163. Rs. 5/.

The Indian Colony of Siam. By Phanindra Nath Bose. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsī Dass, 1927. Pp. x, 170. Rs. 3/8/.

The Stature and Weight of the Siamese. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Estratto dal Vol. II N. 3-4 (Giugno, 1937) Vol. XV of *Genus*. Organo Del Comitato Italiano per lo Studio Dei Problemi Della Popolazione. Pp. 1-31.

The rural sociologist finds his subject not only in his own country, but also in Asia where ancient rural civilizations give evidence now of blossoming forth again on their own, rather than continuing subdued to the West. These six monographs deal with India and Indo-China where most of our previous information has come from conquerors, western Indologists, poorly informed travelers, missionaries, and rice Christians. Now we are beginning to learn from the Oriental himself. The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series in which a number of these volumes are published, is performing a great service not only for the development of the Indian culture, but also in informing us about it. It is indeed refreshing to read about Asia from authors who know Hindu culture because it is their native milieu.

Creative India is a scholarly defense of Indian culture by that great Hindu encyclopedist B. K. Sarkar, a sociologist whose writings all of us should know better. The work has two themes, one, the answering of all misinterpreters of India from Müller to Mayo, and the other, the development of a cultural sociology based upon the long Hindu experience. The work certainly achieves the first objective and goes a long way towards the second. However, the sophisticated westerner feels that "Mother India" needs no defense against its misinterpreters, any more than Dixie needs defenses against the decadent school which infers that every cotton sharecropper is an incestuous moron. Consequently, we are more interested in the development of a cultural sociology based upon Hindu experience. No one is more competent to do this work than Sarkar who has already done a great deal in his previous writings. Such a sociology itself would be the finest tribute to "Mother India." The present work is at its very best when it launches forth upon Indian creations in institutions, political science and social philosophy.

Majumdar's story of Champa, a country between Cambodia and China which passed through its full national course between about 500 B.C. and A.D. 1500 is at once a history and a sociological analysis of the native culture. No clearer account of Hindu religion exists anywhere, in the opinion of the reviewer, than is to be found on pp. 167-214 of this work, where a native of India tells how his religion fitted into the changing philosophies of this struggling colony. The whole work as a unit is a story of what is known of a rural national culture from its origin until its decay.

Gupta's *Land-System in South India* is a Ph.D. thesis under L. D. Barnett of the University of London, later published by the Punjab Oriental Series. While ostensibly it deals only with the land system in South India from A.D. 800-1200, factually it deals with corporate organization, the grouped as well as the scattered homesteads, village types, castes and classes, land ownership, methods of taxation, and rural life generally. In one way or another every problem we deal with in American rural sociology is discussed for this civilization in its time and place.

They also had their problems of centralized versus local control of government, of taxation, relief, and parasitic villages (See especially p. 30 ff.).

Salatore's *Wild Tribes in Indian History* is a story of the formation groups which melted into much of what is now known as India. Sarkar might have included some of these data in his *Creative India* because it could be added from this that the poor aboriginal gets pretty rough treatment everywhere, when he "stands in the way" of an advancing people inspired by the creative urge. The work gives some of the experiences of the clash of cultures with southward migration into India, the development of the caste system, the "Indian" uprisings and the contributions of the primitives to the modern culture. Some of them, like our highlanders, drifted off to the mountains and have kept their cultures fairly intact to this day.

The last two works deal with Siam which between India and China is part one and part the other but fundamentally neither. Racially, the Siamese are Siamese (my study). Historically they have gained from India as well as from China. Bose's monograph emphasizes the Hindu side but he recognizes (p. x *et passim*) not only the Chinese but "something else," and that is where indigenous traits have made the Siamese a great people.

If one wants to know rural sociology he must know Asia and know it in a more profound sense than that of the ordinary interpreter. *The Sacred Books of the East* served their time and purpose. Now is the time for more oriental interpretations of the Orient.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Recent Trends in Rural Planning. By William E. Cole and Hugh P. Crowe. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv, 579. \$3 50.

In a comprehensive summary style this work describes the recent changes underway in rural America, with passing reference to the experiences of other nations. Its sixteen chapters give the theories of the dominant school of rural planners, and the nature of the plans in terms of their aims regarding population, land use, settlement, relief, health, juvenile delinquency, crime, government, schools, churches, libraries, recreation, and electrification. However, as a serious attempt to formulate a philosophy of rural life for America, the study lends itself to some criticism. In a period of general societal confusion it is difficult for the student to objectify the norms of the culture in which he participates. And once having definitely accepted certain values, it is doubly hard to avoid picturing as "social problems" forces which are moving counter to what one thinks are his present ideals. The analysis predicates one set of value judgments as the standard for interpreting the needed changes. Such categorical statements as: "Planning . . . points out ways and means for obtaining greater freedom for the masses . . . more equal distribution of wealth . . . A richer and more abundant life," etc., indicate the interpretation of what the writers conceive as the end of our present attempts.

The study claims social planning to be a unique feature of modern times. "Planning must not be regarded as a passing fancy, but as a new principle, which

offers a new approach to the solution of our many rural and urban problems." The student of history or anthropology can cite many societies that have had social plans and even planning. We hardly need pass beyond our own national borders for illustrations. The authors make much use of the thesis that the existing social disorganization is largely a reflection of "culture lag." To cope with this "problem" they would replace the "politician" by the "scholar," etc. There can be little quarrel over the desire to bring greater security and general well-being to the members of our rural civilization. But one is inclined to question whether the most adequate methods for attaining these goals are the ones outlined. Can any social system be operated on a purely rationalistic level? The recognition by many students of the nonrational aspects of human behavior (as exemplified by the recent revival of interest in the works of Pareto, and others) is not to be lightly disregarded.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN H. USEEM

Population Problems, Second Edition, Revised. By Edward B. Reuter. Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1937. Pp. vi, 508.

This new edition eliminates four chapters contained in the previous edition (the relation of immigration and emigration to population growth, public health, race and race contacts, and the effect of immigration on the quality of the population stock), and adds five new ones (urbanization, present trends and future growth, heredity and population quality, eugenics, and Neo-Malthusianism). The discussion of Malthusianism emphasizes that the major part of the earth's peoples are still faced with the actual or potential threat of overpopulation. The problem of population distribution is regarded as relatively minor, and recent studies of population redistribution are not utilized. The possible selectivity of rural-urban migration is barely mentioned. The large proportion of space given to population quality and the differential birth rate (41 per cent of the total) is interesting in view of the author's assertion that the restricted birth rate of the socio-economic élite is not a matter of consequence one way or the other.

The present revision fails to acquaint students with the demographic situation in the contemporary world and the economic, social, psychological, and political causes and effects of the situation. The discussion of American attitudes toward immigration and immigrants is reproduced practically without change from the 1923 edition. Adequate presentation of the problems and difficulties involved in the present situation of the world's densely populated countries is lacking. The recent population policies of Germany and Italy are dismissed with a brief reference, and there is no analysis of the trend of the German birth rate since 1933.

Not only is the work characterized by an unfortunate indifference to current demographic research, but also by a number of logical inconsistencies. Despite the author's statement that "official attempts directly to control the birth rate seem nowhere to have met with much success," he expresses elsewhere his belief in the ease with which the fall in the birth rate could be arrested at any point desired. Immigration, on the other hand, is not regarded as determined, in the long run, by "the aberrations of statesmen." The biological significances of the

decline of the birth rate is stated to be 'probably negligible', deviations from the racial norm are for the most part in the nature of fluctuating variations, and yet it is asserted that in early warfare the greater mortality of the more bellicose individuals who instigated the conflict raised the percentage of the peace fully minded in the surviving populations "

It is regrettable that there are numerous factual errors Reuter states that the birth rate of Japan remained at its former level, actually the crude birth rate declined from 34.6 per 1,000 population in 1921-25 to 29.9 in 1935. He states that "no country for which reliable statistics are available has shown an actual decrease except temporarily", actually the population of the Irish Free State declined continuously from 1841 through 1936. He characterizes Italy as having "barbarian fecundity", actually the crude birth rate was 23.3 in 1935. It may be noted that, contrary to accepted usage, he defines fertility as "the capacity to reproduce," and fecundity as "the number of offspring actually produced." His statement that "even in the more advanced countries contraception has not greatly if at all reduced the rate of population growth" would be refuted by even the most cursory survey of modern research. Perhaps one could not reasonably hold the author of a text for a detailed knowledge of current research in the field, but certainly he should be held for accuracy, clearness and consistency in the information which he uses to illustrate his points.

Office of Population Research, Princeton University IRI NI BARNIS TAIUBIR

Folklore from the Schoharie Hills By Emelyn E. Gardner University of Michigan Press, 1937 Pp. 331 \$3.50

Students of folklore have felt a necessity to collect as much of this interesting type of folk life as possible, even though no analysis or generalization is added. Undoubtedly there is something to be said in defense of this practice. Unlike written literature, legends if not collected may disappear. Emelyn Gardner has gone into the Schoharie country east of Catskill, New York, and has returned with a book full of interesting ballads, ghost stories, legends, riddles, and general folk superstitions. She found the Schoharie region not too unlike the mountains of Virginia, Kentucky, or Pennsylvania. The customs and beliefs portrayed by Fielding, Smollett, Pepys, and Burns she found to a large degree those of the present day Schoharie hill folk who are prone to follow the folkways of their ancestors. No attempt is made to distinguish between common American folklore and that of specific old American communities. For a social psychologist a review of the material creates an urge to know more about the facts given. Why are certain ballads handed down? What determines distortions which occur in different regions? What determines individual distortions in a single section? Perhaps these questions will be answered in later days when an adequate reservoir of such knowledge is available to all. This seems to be the function the author conceived the work to have, and we must accept it at that value. The book is also an interesting document for those who enjoy folklore for avocational reading.

Kenyon College, Ohio

RICHARD L. SCHANCK

The Checkered Years. By Mary Boynton Cowdry. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1937. Pp. 265. \$3.00.

This is a book of excerpts from the diary of Mary Dodge Woodward, a widow of about sixty years of age who lived with her two sons and a daughter on a 1,500-acre wheat farm in Dakota during the bonanza years, 1884-89. The farm was owned by her cousin, Daniel Dodge, and was managed by her son, Walter, for a salary of \$1,000 a year.

Mary Dodge Woodward was not a typical pioneer woman. She went to the territory when past middle life, her children grown, her financial security assured. She viewed the plains with a spyglass, read good books, received 15 papers and magazines in one mail and had her diary bound in leather. There is no indication that she participated in local community life.

The book contains brief but interesting comments on large scale wheat farming during the eighties, and shows that plowed ground in that territory produced dust storms long before the eyes of the nation were turned upon the "Dust Bowl," during the recent drought. There are excellent comments upon the weather, sunsets, blizzards, northern lights, mirages, and wild flowers. Mrs. Woodward wrote with charm, and with an intimacy born of the belief that none but her immediate family would ever read what she wrote. She quoted poetry, wrote original verse, and modified the lines of others to express her sentiments. Many people will find the book interesting reading because of the simple but cultured personality which it expresses.

Ohio State University

C. E. LIVELY

Coral Gardens and Their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands. By Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: American Book Company; London: Allen and Unwin. 1935. Vol. 1: pp. xxxviii, 500; Vol. 2: pp. xxxiv, 350.

This will be recognized as a classic monograph, and no review by a representative of one social science for a particular journal can do it justice. Although ethnologists will offer technical criticism beyond our competence, we would stress to rural sociologists its fundamental value to them.

An 85-page opening chapter pictures the setting of this tribe and the understanding of their agriculture which would result from a brief residence. Eleven succeeding chapters exhaustively describe and interpret every aspect of agricultural operations, accompanying magical practices, the economic and tenure settings of their agriculture, and the enmeshment of this one facet of life in the whole social structure and culture. This volume might well be titled the rural sociology of the Trobrianders.

Many readers of this review are familiar with Malinowski's assertion that magic is not a superstitious incidental of life, but an integral activity, effective both supernaturally for believers, and empirically through its buoying effect on human spirits, and its rôle as a co-ordinator of practical activities. This thesis

is substantiated repeatedly in the descriptions of the round of agricultural activities of these people.

Particularly valuable, in conjunction with Malinowski's other books on this people, is the clear picture of the functioning of the avunculate family system, and his illuminating dissection of the concept of land tenure.

Sociologists studying areas where familistic mores remain strong, and those studying urbanized and secularized agrarian groups, will profit equally from careful reading of this monograph. The former will receive insight into aspects of their situation they have overlooked or misunderstood; the latter will gain clearer understanding through the violent contrast of situations.

The second volume is principally linguistic, and strives to demonstrate that language is not epiphenomenal, but effective practically. The spells of magic are presented in detail, each in its setting of behavior and social relationships. T. Lynn Smith, with the reviewer, attempted in "Scope and Method of Research in Rural Social Psychology" to urge studies springing from language usage; here are more fruitful suggestions of such possibilities. This section of the study is especially valuable, also, for understanding the structure and rôle of the language institution in society.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Mixing the Races in Hawaii. By Sidney L. Gulick. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937. Pp. xiii, 220. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.75.

This work, by a retired Protestant missionary, is a description of the various factors—racial, historical, educational and political, social and religious—that are supposedly "weaving the poly-racial elements of the population of Hawaii into a single unified people—the Neo-Hawaiian-American race." It contains 13 chapters, a short appendix, an index, 26 statistical tables—taken largely from the works of Professors Romanzo Adams and L. D. Porteus of the University of Hawaii—and numerous illustrations, mostly religious in nature. One-third of the book deals with the missionary activities of the various denominational creeds—Methodist Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Mormon, as well as the religions of Buddhism and Shintoism—and the relative importance of each in "fusing" the heterogeneous elements into a unified homogeneous people. The methodology is one in which all the factors favorable to the author's thesis of the creation of a "new human type" are presented first, followed by one chapter of the influences "that are, or seem to be, adverse." In the opinion of the reviewer this chapter is the most worthwhile. Here one learns that the first 11 chapters "give too rosy and optimistic a picture"; of brotherly love in the "paradise of the Pacific"; that "although up to high school age the youngsters hobnob like brothers and sisters, the situation seems to change thereafter"; that 151,141 Japanese, representing 38 per cent of the total population adhering to a religious and school system of their own still represent a social problem, however reluctantly admitted. Despite the fact that "the vast majority of individuals of pure races marry within their own race," the author roughly estimates the probable physiological characteristics of the coming race—the Neo-Hawaiian-American Race—

as "ten per cent Hawaiian, twenty per cent Caucasian, forty per cent Japanese, ten per cent Chinese, fifteen per cent Filipino, and two per cent Puerto Rican."

Louisiana State University

VERNON J. PARENTON

History of Randleigh Farm. By Wm. Rand Kenan, Jr. Lockport, New York: W. R. Kenan, 1937. Pp. 298. \$2.50.

This book includes far more than the brief history of a New York farm since 1921. It tells the story of a series of interesting experiments conducted for the purpose of producing better milk for human consumption. In 1912 Mr. Kenan, a man of means, who knew nothing of dairying, purchased a grade Jersey cow for \$100. From this beginning grew a 350-acre farm stocked with a herd of 165 registered Jerseys, equipped with the best known devices for the production of pure nutritious milk. During recent years, extensive experiments have been conducted at Randleigh Farm. These experiments have dealt with such problems as how to get milk from cow to consumer without it coming in contact with air, and how to feed and otherwise treat dairy cows so as to improve the vitamin content of milk. In the course of these experiments experts in feeding, chemistry, physiology, and dentistry at Ohio State University contributed their services, and equipment manufacturers were prevailed upon to produce special equipment. Part II of the book on the "Feeding of Dairy Cows" contains a series of interesting chapters written chiefly by Professor Oscar Erf of Ohio State University, and shows the relation of feeding to the quality of milk produced.

The book is a significant one for the expert dairyman and for all who are interested in the relation between milk and modern civilization. Mr. Kenan is doing pioneer service in improving the quality of the best known human food.

Ohio State College

C. E. LIVELY

The Abolition of Poverty. By James Ford and Katherine Morrow Ford. The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. x, 300. \$2.50.

The publishers' notice of the volume that "This is the first compact yet comprehensive treatment of all phases of the problem," is approximately correct, if "compact" is emphasized sufficiently. Parmlee's *Poverty and Social Progress* of 1919 was a comprehensive survey of practically all phases of extent, causes, and "cures" of poverty. The volume under review has the advantage of being up to date and of taking advantage of new developments in our own country and in other nations. Out of 15 chapters, three are devoted to personality matters: causes in heredity and incapacity of various kinds and to the possibility of their removal. The writers are overappreciative of some of the pseudo-scientific eugenic proposals for the elimination of such defectives as the feeble-minded. Although stating that perhaps not more than 40 per cent of such mental defectives are so by heredity, yet when considering sterilization, all feeble-minded are to be sterilized as if all were made so by gene combination. So-called eugenic marriage laws are also highly regarded, in spite of the findings of at least two state studies that are largely fiascos. There is too much hope that the 90 per cent of feeble-

mindedness that is derived from normal persons and is therefore entirely hidden "might be prevented by clinical advice." These are perhaps minor matters and are overshadowed by the great volume of painstaking and highly meritorious work in most other directions. The social environmental causes and "cures" are splendidly handled. The economic determining conditions of poverty are adequately revealed. The authors see little hope for removing and preventing poverty under the capitalistic system. Communism as a remedy is discarded, perhaps with too brief a treatment. Some form of collectivism or state socialism is regarded as the only system under which poverty may be abolished. So long as capitalism remains, all we can hope to do is to mitigate poverty. This notice does not do justice to the merits of the volume. Seldom does one see so compact, direct, and pungent a treatment of so vast a field. It is a splendid piece of work.

University of North Dakota

J. M. GILLETTE

The National Debt and Government Credit. Prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Government Credit of the Twentieth Century Fund. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1937. Pp. xvii, 171. \$2.00.

The unprecedented size of our national debt prompted the Twentieth Century Fund to study the relationship between the national debt and government credit. The study is, for the most part, a careful and well-balanced analysis of credit in general and government credit in particular. The report concludes that neither the present size of the debt nor the large increase occurring during the depression has as yet endangered the credit of the Federal Government. Nevertheless it argues, deficit financing should be discontinued and substantial surpluses made available to reduce the debt in order that the nation does not enter another period of deficit financing (which another depression or war would involve) with the big debt load it now has. No mention is made of the fact that the net indebtedness of local governments for the country as a whole has actually declined during the five-year period 1932 to 1936. In other words, much of the responsibility for furnishing public services has been shifted to Uncle Sam, while the county and other local governmental units have paid off part of their indebtedness and are in better financial condition than before the depression.

The possibility that the development of the Social Security Reserve Fund will absorb government bonds in the years ahead is mentioned, but there is no discussion of the significance which this change in ownership of the bonds might have in reducing the possibilities of inflation and speculative booms through deficit financing by dependence on the banking system to purchase them as at present. This book was not intended to discuss ways and means of reducing the debt or of balancing the budget, but one cannot help feel the incompleteness of the discussion when statement upon statement is made to the effect that the budget should be balanced and surpluses raised to liquidate the debt. The reviewer believes a great majority of Americans in all walks of life will agree that huge debts are bad for governments as well as for individuals, and that budgets should be balanced if possible without too great sacrifice of human welfare. But

the persistently perplexing problem of how to get it balanced under our present economic order remains.

Montana State College

ROLAND R. RENNE

Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands. With an Account of the Rural Handicraft Movement in the United States and Suggestions for the Wider Use of Handicrafts in Adult Education and in Recreation. By Allen H. Eaton. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. Pp. 370. \$3.00.

The Russell Sage Foundation sponsored this exhaustive study in which development of mountain handicrafts is traced, the status of the work surrounding the different centers is set forth, and future of the handicrafts is considered. The movement is recognized as threefold, social, educational, and economic. Approach to the problem of perpetuation and development must be ethical. Co-operative planning offers the most promise and the author has aided in forming and guiding the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild and in affiliating it with Federal, state, and private agencies. These agencies are developing the reciprocal relation between makers and users that they believe to be the soundest foundation on which to build for the future. More than 100 photogravures and colored prints, and names, dates, procedures, patterns, products, equipment, bibliographies and index help to make this a definitive volume insofar as any book on handicrafts can be so considered.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN

Die Wanderungsbewegung in Ostpreussen. By Konrad Steyer. Beiträge zur Statistik der Provinz Ostpreussen, Heft 1. Königsberg: Grafe und Unzer, 1935. Pp. 146 (45 tables, 22 charts, and maps).

Die Veränderung der Bevölkerungsverteilung in Berlin-Brandenburg 1875-1925. By Gerhard Deissmann. Berliner Geographische Arbeiten, Heft 11. Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1936. Pp. 143, of which 53 are text.

The steady stream of German monographs on migration and population distribution is the best argument for expanded expenditure on the United States Census. Steyer classifies migrations according to origin, source, route, etc., and critically examines the validity of the available types of data for measuring each. Choosing police reports (*Meldewesen*) as most accurate, he describes separately migrations within, and to and from, East Prussia from 1929 (and 1925 in some cases) to 1932—the period of shrinking industrial employment. The data are classified and critically analyzed by year and month and season, urban and rural districts, religious affiliation, age, sex, occupation, and land-values and land-holding units. He shows that different migration components have different variations for each of these attributes. Particularly significant is his demonstration that persons from areas of small holdings participate most intensively in movements within the province, while individuals from large-holdings areas are more common in migrations over the border.

Deissmann's study pictures the changing distribution of population within a metropolitan area under the influence of land-type, industrial localization, and lines of transportation. The size of each center is given for 1875, 1890, 1910, and 1925, and the changes are explained in detail.

Both studies are filled with suggestions for students of migration in this country, despite the inferior data available here.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Surveys of Youth-Finding the Facts. By D. L. Harley. Studies, Series IV, No. 1, American Council of Education, Washington, D. C., 1937. Pp. 106. \$.50.

The American Youth Commission, set up by the American Council of Education in 1935, took as one of its first tasks the making of a survey of surveys on young people. The result is this annotated and classified bibliography on 166 studies made since 1931. The listings are arranged by subject matter into: (1) general inquiries, (2) follow-up surveys, dealing with out-of-school (or college) older youth, (3) employment only, (4) rural, and (5) miscellaneous, such as those on attitudes, race, relief, and transients. In addition, consideration is given to about 35 surveys for which reports have not appeared, a part of them being still in process. For comparative purposes a number of Great Britain's contributions are also recorded. The report is of interest to anyone working with young people, but its greatest value is to those who are in search of information on source materials pertaining to their needs and activities. As far as possible, each reference is followed by information on the number surveyed; their age range; the group characteristics, e.g., whether single or married, boys or girls, in school or out, rural or urban; fields or items covered: year of study; means of obtaining data, and location. Surveys for a certain state, year, age group, educational status, and the like are easily ascertainable by means of a system of cross references. Information is given also on how copies of reports may be obtained where they still are available. On the whole, the report is organized for use along certain lines, is essentially accurate, and more complete than any bibliography on young people's surveys for the depression period, and is a useful reference guide for all who are working in the field of youth.

University of Wisconsin

E. L. KIRKPATRICK

The Bible and Rural Life. By Ross J. Griffiths. Cincinnati, Ohio: The Standard Publishing Company, 1937. \$.75.

In the words of the author this pamphlet has "sought to present a fresh approach to the study of the Bible. . . . The purpose has been to suggest the vitality of the scriptures for those of our own time who live in rural areas, and to challenge urban citizens by a presentation of their responsibilities and obligations to the churches of the open country and rural villages."

The author has paraphrased the rural sociologist by pointing out that rural society must have a culture of its own. He suggests that this should and can be accomplished by revitalizing religion, and looking to religion as a motivator of every day ways of living and as an agency for education.

The usual difficulty is that few who have not a social science point of view will read and think upon this subject. If they do, they will dispose of it as "wishful thinking."

Montana State College

CARL F. KRAENZEL

Mortality Trends in the State of Minnesota. By Calvin F. Schmid. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937. Pp. x, 325. \$3.50.

According to the author, this monograph ". . . is primarily intended for members of the medical profession, administrative officials, public health workers, social workers, students, and all others who are actively interested in public health problems." Noteworthy is the fact that about a third of the total space is devoted to admirable examples of orthodox graphic representation of quantitative data. The flexibility afforded by photolith methods of reproduction is well exemplified by this work.

Louisiana State University

EDGAR A. SCHULER

The Official Publications of American Counties: A Union List. By James Goodwin Hodgson. Fort Collins, Colorado, the author, 1937. Pp. xxii, 594. \$5.00.

This mimeographed bibliography of official county publications (both print and "near print") contains a list of over 5,000 entries. The items are arranged alphabetically by title of publication within each county, counties being listed alphabetically within each state. The index, while unfortunately incomplete, adds to the reference value of the work. Inasmuch as "the county," as the author says, "is essentially a rural form of government," this work should doubtless be accessible to the rural sociologist as well as to students of local government.

Louisiana State University

EDGAR A. SCHULER

News Notes and Announcements

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Of interest to rural sociologists everywhere is the organization of the Rural Sociological Society of America which took place at the Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey, on December —, 1937. Approximately 75 rural sociologists in attendance at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society were called into special session by Dr. George von Tüngeln, Chairman of the Section on Rural Sociology, to hear the report of a special committee appointed in December, 1936, to consider ways and means of better organization for rural sociologists. This committee, consisting of Dwight Sanderson (Chairman), O. D. Duncan, John H. Kolb, Carl C. Taylor, and B. O. Williams, presented the following report to the meeting.

To the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society:

Your committee, appointed to suggest a plan for the organization of a society of rural sociologists, preferably as an affiliated unit of the American Sociological Society, has given careful consideration to the problems involved and has corresponded with the officers of the American Sociological Society and through them with its executive committee. As a result, we recommend:

1. That the rural section formally propose the two following amendments to the constitution of the American Sociological Society.

"ARTICLE VIII. Section 2. A section of the society shall be composed of members of the society interested in a common field of sociological specialization, *or may consist of an independent society or association devoted to a special field of sociology, a majority of whose members are members of the American Sociological Society. The constitution or by-laws of such an independent association must specify that it is a section of the American Sociological Society.* Sections shall meet annually during the time of, and in the same city as the annual meeting of the Society."

The amendment to this section is italicized.

Article VII, Section 5, by inserting after the word "sections," "except as provided in Section 2 above."

These amendments should be presented at the present meeting and cannot be acted upon until the following year as they must be transmitted by the secretary to all members two months before the annual meeting. The presentation at the present time would permit full discussion and enable the members of the rural section to obtain a reaction of the members of the parent society.

2. Your committee also proposes the adoption of the attached suggested con-

stitution and by-laws for the creation of a separate organization affiliated with the American Sociological Society. We suggest that this constitution be circulated among the members of the rural section and that its adoption be made a special order of business at the meeting of 1938, after the American Society has voted upon the proposed amendments.

Respectfully submitted,

J. H. KOLB

CARL C. TAYLOR

B. O. WILLIAMS

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Chairman*

Dr. O. D. Duncan submits the following as a minority report. (The constitution which he appends is practically identical with that submitted by the majority report, except that it deletes Article 3.):

(1) that this group here and now declare itself to be an independent society and that as an organization its allegiance to the American Sociological Society in all matters of jurisdiction shall be regarded by this action as having come to an end,

(2) that for the year 1938 the Rural Sociological Society operate under a provisional constitution for which purpose a draft of a suggested constitution is attached hereto,

(3) that a committee be designated to draw up proposals for permanent organization, to be considered by the Society at its regular annual meeting in 1938.

The committee amended its report by deleting paragraph 2, and its report was then adopted.

After considerable discussion, the affairs of the Rural Section were brought to an end, and the group proceeded to organize the Rural Sociological Society of America, and unanimously elected the following officers for the year 1938.

President: Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University

Vice-President: John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin

Secretary-Treasurer: T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University

The Executive Committee was completed by the election of C. E. Lively and Carl C. Taylor.

The following provisional constitution was adopted for the year with the understanding that it would be amended and finally adopted at the next annual meeting. It was agreed that all members joining this year shall be considered charter members of the Society.

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 1. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society of America.

ARTICLE 2. *Objects.* The objects of this Society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

ARTICLE 3. *Affiliation.* This Society shall be affiliated with the American

Sociological Society and shall constitute a section on Rural Sociology of that Society.

ARTICLE 4. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this Society, may become a member upon vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 5. *Officers.* The officers of the Society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

ARTICLE 6. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers and two other members to be elected by the Society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the Society, except insofar as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 7. *Elections.* The officers and elected members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by a majority of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE 8. *Annual Meeting.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the Society not later than two months after the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the Society at least one month before the annual meeting.

SUGGESTED BY-LAWS

ARTICLE 1. *Membership and Dues*

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the Society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the Society and the favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the Society. Students of educational institutions may become associate members upon the payment of two dollars and fifty cents per annum.

ARTICLE 2. *Standing Committees*

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees on Research, Teaching, and Extension work. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the Society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three Standing Committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

ARTICLE 3. *Publications*

Section 1. The quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, shall be the official pub-

lication of the Society and its management shall be vested in a Board of Editors to be elected by the Society.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of six years, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

Section 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *Rural Sociology*.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the Society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

ARTICLE 4. *Amendments*

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the Society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the Secretary by five members of the Society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the Society at least one month before the annual meeting.

The newly constituted Society by unanimous vote approved a co-operative arrangement whereby the Louisiana State University Press would undertake the publication of a series of *Rural Sociological Monographs* for the Society.

After a meeting of the Executive Committee the president announced the following committee appointments.

Committee on Research: C. Horace Hamilton, for one year, chairman; Harold F. Dorn, for two years; N. L. Whetten, for three years.

Committee on Teaching: Wilson Gee, for one year, chairman; O. D. Duncan, for two years; C. R. Hoffer, for three years.

Committee on Extension: J. B. Schmidt, for one year, chairman; Mary E. Duthie, for two years; Theo. Vaughan, for three years.

For *Rural Sociological Monographs*: T. Lynn Smith, editor; Paul Landis, advisory editor; Conrad Taeuber, advisory editor.

February 21, 1938

To the Members of the Rural Sociological Society of America:

It is none too soon to be thinking about the program for our next annual meeting. I have heard suggestions from some that they would prefer a meeting devoted to discussion rather than the presentation of formal papers. I shall be glad to hear from members about the type of program and the number of sessions they prefer. To be of most use, we should have these suggestions at once, and they will then be taken up with the Executive Committee.

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *President*

University of Arizona:—Dr. E. D. Tetreau, professor of rural sociology, University of Arizona, served as chairman of an oral examining board which examined candidates for positions with the Arizona State Board of Social Security. These examinations were held from December 6 to December 24, 1937, at all the county seats of the state. Other members of the board were Professor Jean Sinnock of Denver University, and Dr. Clyde W. Taylor, Phoenix Union High School.

Dr. F. A. Conrad, professor of sociology, University of Arizona, read and graded the essays written by applicants for positions on the board of Social Security.

University of Arkansas:—H. W. Blalock, formerly associate professor of rural economics, has announced his resignation from the university faculty effective January 13. He will continue in his present position on the State Utilities Commission.

A co-operative study on Farm Labor Conditions in the Delta areas of the state has been outlined by the United States Department of Agriculture, the A.A.A., and the State Experiment Station. The reduction of croppers and tenants to a farm labor status is creating problems of a serious nature.

The co-operative Extension Service is inaugurating a project to assist young farm families to obtain holdings of their own of such a size and description that they will be able to maintain proper standards of living. The Experiment Station is co-operating with the Extension Service in locating suitable tracts of land and formulating farm plans.

Harvard University:—Professor Kimball Young of Wisconsin and Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard will give courses in the Harvard Summer School from July 5 to August 13. In addition, the rural sociologists who want to take a refresher course or to get acquainted with different schools of thought will find Professors P. A. Sorokin, Edmund B. Wilson, and Talcott Parsons available for consultation.

Louisiana State University:—Professor Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina will offer courses in the 1938 summer session.

Soil Conservation Service:—The inclusion of Indian reservations within the Soil Conservation Service required an adaptation of its land-use programs to some of the peculiarities of the Indian and their problems. The result was a division of the Federal organization called "Technical Cooperation—Bureau of Indian Affairs," with one unit for "Technical" surveys (engineering, soils, water, agronomic, range, erosion, etc.) and another for "Human Dependency" surveys (land-ownership, land-tenure, land-use, income, social organization, etc.). The latter unit is responsible for utilizing its own and the technical units' findings to assess the apportionment and adequacy of the resources of any given reservation

studied, and to outline plans for land-consolidation, land-use, population distribution, etc. Since July 1, 1937, Maurice T. Price has been acting head of the human dependency unit.

The State College of Washington.—Edwards Brothers, Incorporated, Ann Arbor, Michigan, announces the publication of *Three Iron Mining Towns, A Study in Cultural Change* by Paul H. Landis, associate professor of sociology.

Ginn and Company announces the publication of *Social Living, Principles and Problems in Introductory Sociology*, a high school text by Paul H. Landis, associate professor of sociology, and Judson T. Landis, fellow in the department of sociology, Louisiana State University.

Books Received

- Western Lands and the American Revolution.* By Thomas P. Abernethy. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. \$4.00.
- We Americans* By Elin L. Andersn. Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1937. \$3.00.
- Dixie After the War.* By M. Lockett Avery. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co. \$3.00.
- The Checkered Years.* By Mary Boynton Cowdrey. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. \$5.00.
- Rebuilding Rural America* by Mark A. Dawber. New York: Friendship Press. \$1.00.
- The Abolition of Poverty.* By James and Katherine Morrow Ford. New York: Macmillan Co. \$2.50.
- The Bible and Rural Life.* By Ross J. Griffiths. Cincinnati, Ohio: The Standard Publishing Co. \$.75.
- Mixing the Races in Hawaii.* By Sidney L. Gulick. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937. \$2.50.
- The Old Sheriff and Other True Tales.* By Lafayette Hanchett. New York: Margent Press. \$2.50.
- Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts.* By D. L. Harley. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education. \$.50
- Spotlights on the Culture of India.* By James Lowell Hynes.
- The Wasted Land.* By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. \$1.50.
- Isolated Communities, A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village.* By Oscar Walde-mar Junek. New York: American Book Co., 1937. \$2.50.
- History of Randleigh Farm.* By William R. Kenan, Jr. Lockport, N. Y.: (Published by the author). \$2.50.
- Early 18th Century Palatine Emigration.* By W. A. Knittle. Philadelphia: Dor-rance & Co., 1937.
- Voices from the Fields: Country Songs by Farming People.* By Russell Lord. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1937. \$2.00.
- The National Debt and Government Credit.* Prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Government Credit of the Twentieth Century Fund. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1937. \$2.00.
- Nutrition:* Final report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations on the relation of nutrition to health, agriculture, and economic policy. New York: Columbia University Press. \$2.00.
- The Structure of Social Action.* By Talcott Parsons. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. \$6.00.
- Of the Earth Earthy.* By Marion Nicholl Rawson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.00.
- .

- Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk.* By Riches. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- The Village Carpenter.* By Walter Rose.
- The Social History of American Agriculture.* By Joseph Schafer. New York: Macmillan Co, 1937.
- The Share-Cropper.* By Charlie May Simon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50.
- The New Social Philosophy.* By W. Sombert and Geiser. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1937.
- Die Wanderbewegung in Der Provinz Ostpreussen nach Stadt- und Landkreisen.* Konrad Steyer. Prussia: Königsberg, 1935.
- Human Migration, A Study of International Movements.* By Donald R. Taft. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1937. \$4.00.
- Mexico's Progress Demands Its Price.* By Louis H. Warner. Boston, Mass.: Chapman & Grimes.
- Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation.* By T. J. Woofter, Jr. Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph V, 1936.
- Negro Yearbook.* By Monroe N. Work, Editor. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Yearbook Publishing Co. \$2.00.
- The Stature and Weight of the Siamese.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. *Genus*, Organo Del Comitato Italiano per lo Studio Dei Problemi Della Popolazione. Pp. 1-31.
- Farm Tenancy.* Duke University, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. IV, No. 4, October, 1937.

RECENT RELEASES

by the

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shakespearian Study:

SHAKESPEARE'S PHILOSOPHICAL PATTERNS. *By Walter Clyde Curry*

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Types of Migratory Farm Laborers and Their Movement into the Yakima Valley, Washington¹

Richard Wakefield and Paul H. Landis

ABSTRACT

The highly seasonal nature of Yakima Valley agriculture requires much transient labor, especially during the months of September and October. The workers involved in the seasonal influx include immigrants from the drought states, "bindle tramps," migratory family workers, and casual agricultural workers. While most of the migratory workers have no fixed pattern of migration, large numbers of them follow one of several definite movements. Many of the casual workers come from the nearby cities and stay only during the harvest season; some travel coastwise following the seasons from California to Washington; others follow shorter routes which are confined to the Northwest. The drought refugees usually come directly into the valley and scatter over the state when the working season closes.

The Pacific Coast states, because of their wide variation in climate, soil, and rainfall and because of their large irrigated tracts given to intensive agriculture, produce a great variety of crops which require much hand labor. As a consequence there is a heavy demand for farm labor, much of which is seasonal, thus requiring a mobile farm labor population.

This study centers in the Yakima Valley of central Washington and reports on the types of transient farm laborers who come there to work, and the routes of movement of these workers to the Yakima Valley.²

* Richard Wakefield is Assistant State Supervisor of Rural Research in Washington under a co-operative program with the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. Paul H. Landis is State Supervisor of Rural Research for Washington with the same organization and associate rural sociologist at The State College of Washington.

¹ Published as *Scientific Paper No. 370*, College of Agriculture and Experiment Station, State College of Washington. Other organizations co-operating in the study were the Division of Social Research of the Federal Works Progress Administration, the Washington State Works Progress Administration, and the Washington State Department of Public Welfare.

² Certain other phases of the farm labor problem in the Yakima Valley have been presented in the following publications: Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, "Farm Labor

The sample includes 233 unselected cases, of which 168 were transient³ families and 65 were transient single workers. All were interviewed in the Yakima Valley by use of a field schedule during the period, July 28, 1935, to July 25, 1936.⁴ These schedules provide the basis for the analysis which follows.

The Yakima Valley is one of the most intensified and diversified agricultural sections in the state. It is located in the semi-arid portion of central Washington, and almost all crop land is irrigated. The valley is divided into two sections by a high range of hills, the sections being known locally as the upper valley and the lower valley. The upper valley is largely devoted to raising apples, with pears and other soft fruits grown as filler trees in the apple orchards. The farms range mainly from 10 to 50 acres. On the lower valley floor are found many specialty crop farms raising hops, potatoes, hay, sugar beets, grapes, and cash grains. Some dairies and fruit orchards are also found here. On the north side of the valley lies an irrigated bench devoted to peaches, pears, apricots, and cherries. The rest of the county consists chiefly of dry hills and, on the western end, the Cascade Mountains. These areas serve as grazing land for cattle and sheep. These animals are wintered in the valley, providing a market for the large acreage of hay produced there. The trade and culture center of the district is the city of Yakima, which has a population of 22,000.

TYPES OF FARM WORKERS

The farm laborers found in the Yakima Valley during 1935-36 were a heterogeneous group, representing a wide geographic area and including a wide range of occupational groups. During those years the variation was unusually great, because the farm labor population included refugees from the drought-ridden Middle West and unemployed urban-industrial workers.⁵

Drought Refugees. The drought refugees as a group were considered in the Yakima Valley, Washington," Washington Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin* No. 343, 1936, and Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1937, pp. 1-11. Subsequent reports will deal with other phases of the problem.

³ A transient was defined as one who had not lived in the Yakima Valley continuously for one year preceding the interview.

⁴ The schedule called for information on workers' places of residence during the year preceding the interview, the amount of time employed at each place of residence, the income from each job, as well as other items pertaining to their general social and occupational characteristics.

⁵ Only 50.7 per cent of the sample gave farm labor as their usual occupation.

probably the best workmen in the country. Some of them had been farm hands, but the largest part had operated their own grain and cattle ranches in the communities from which they had come. Some sought to re-establish themselves in the West; others were scouting around trying to decide whether or not they should locate. A large part of them were once fairly well off, but few forsook their homes until they had lost everything in an attempt to weather the drought. Because most of them have the reputation of being hard workers, they are becoming the preferred group among Yakima Valley employers. This group of necessity faces the problem of rising again from the bottom.

The Year-Round Agricultural Employees. The normal run of agricultural workers is a widely differentiated group. Among them are some excellent farm laborers, capable, steady, experienced, and moderately intelligent, who are seldom employed on nonagricultural jobs and who obtain the relatively few year-round farm jobs in the county. The wages paid by these jobs are not high but steady employment is assured, and substantial perquisites are usually provided. The traditional type of hired man who shares the life and hardships of the farmer, never numerous in this section, is now almost extinct. This group has been drained off by a constant selective process which chooses the steady and dependable for the more remunerative occupations.

The "Bindle Tramp." There is the single "bindle tramp" who carries his worldly possessions in his bed roll and travels almost exclusively by freight. He loafs in the city park, cooks and eats from old tin cans in the "jungle," and sleeps in a box car; or, if he has been employed recently for a fair wage, puts up in a local "flophouse," for which he pays from 25 to 75 cents a night, and eats in some cheap restaurant along the railroad tracks. A cheap hotel room for these men is a very much desired luxury, because it relieves them of the necessity of carrying their "bindle" with them all day when loafing or when looking for work. Most of them are willing to work for good wages, but as a rule they will pick hops only in order to have money for food and tobacco until they can get a better job picking apples. Because their costs of living are low and they have no dependents; they feel free to quit a job or refuse it when they sense that they are being exploited. It is in this group that the nuclei of radical labor movements appear. This group is the first to become militant in case of labor troubles, although the most bitter complaints against conditions come from the ranks of the family workers.

The Migratory Family Workers. The migratory family worker in large numbers is a comparatively recent development. The one thing that makes this group available for work in different localities is the cheap second-hand automobile. The average car of the migratory family is almost ten years old, but the family must depend on it to get to the next seasonal job. Their migration habits are somewhat different from those of the single workers because they are more restricted by transportation costs, and they tend to go where there are jobs at which the whole family can work—such as picking berries, peas, hops, and cotton. These migratory families usually find only short-time employment in any locality and, instead of settling down as many had once hoped to do, they keep moving in quest of work. Many still dream of finding the opportunity for which they have always looked, but the breakdown of the agricultural ladder has destroyed practically all their hope of advancement. The farm laborers' occupation has no future, and the present offers but a scanty hand-to-mouth existence. They drift from job to job, often with a lapse of months between periods of employment. Inactivity destroys their efficiency and their initiative. Their life is drab and unattractive, although some no doubt are well accommodated to a marginal nomadic existence. They have the psychology of the unsuccessful because they have either lost or, more often, never attained a definite position in a stable social group. The problems of supporting and raising children make their lives much harder than those of the single worker.

The family workers are employed fewer days per year than the single men, and even including the wages of all members of the family, they make very little more than do the single workers,⁶ while expenses are much higher. Many are forced to live on relief a large part of the year.⁷ The uncertainty of the life and the meagerness of the family budget make normal or even decent home life difficult.

Casual Agricultural Workers. In addition to these fairly well-marked types of workers there is a large group of casual farm workers. This group is found especially in the hop fields, where no particular skill or strength is required, although some of them may be found in any type of farm labor except that demanding the most skill.

There is the old man who at one time held a position in industry but who no longer has the skill or energy to keep pace with the machine. There are college students who are trying to earn money in order to

⁶ Landis and Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

return to school, but they usually do not stay long in the hop fields, since they find their earnings hardly sufficient for living from day to day, to say nothing of saving for going to school. There are those who have brought their family out for a free vacation, living in the quarters furnished by the employer, and picking hops for expense money. There are old people who have retired from active work, but whose income is not sufficient to carry them through the winter. They find in some of the lighter agricultural jobs like hop picking a way to bring in some cash to supplement the income they have from real estate, interest on reserve funds, or other assets. There are others who, in traveling about the country, have run short of funds and, seeing signs on filling stations or in tourist camps: "Hop Pickers Wanted," "Apple Pickers Wanted," and so forth, stop to earn enough to get them farther along their journey. There are those, temporarily out of employment in urban-industrial occupations, who are filling in with agricultural employment. Also among the casual workers are mill, mine, and factory employees, or employees in certain confining urban-industrial occupations who wish to get outdoors for a short time, to increase their sense of freedom or to improve their health. There are the middle-class adventurers who happen to be in the West traveling or scouting around, and who have heard about hop picking or fruit picking and want to try it for a few days.

This by no means exhausts the variety found among the group of casual workers but suggests how diverse the group is in interests, status, and occupation. Neither does this study take into account the non-white laborers who come into the Yakima Valley in great numbers to work in the hop harvest.⁸

MIGRATION ROUTES OF TRANSIENT FARM WORKERS

Transient laborers on the whole do not remain long in the Yakima Valley. The average family stays in Yakima County 87 days, and the average single worker, 60 days. The remainder of the time is spent elsewhere. Almost all of the transient workers with a fairly permanent place of residence have it located outside the county, usually in some coast city, and come to Yakima only when they feel the opportunities for employment are better there than they are in the home city.

Many migratory workers follow a planned route but relatively few

⁸ Approximately 3,000 Indians from reservations of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and even British Columbia are brought to the valley by hop growers to help with the harvest. In addition, 300 to 400 Filipinos from the fish canneries on the coast come into the hop fields to work.

follow the same path year after year, as is indicated by the fact that only 7.2 per cent of the sample group were in Yakima County one year before the date on which the schedule was taken. There are nevertheless certain definite, traceable movements of workers in yearly cycles. These annual migration cycles are followed because some localities afford better opportunities at certain seasons than others, and the workers are able to dovetail their jobs in a more or less satisfactory manner. Those who follow regular routes arrive at the different localities at approximately the same time each season.

An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to identify year-round movements of a number of workers. Since the sample included only 233 transient cases, the number following any one route is small. However, if one considers that a minimum of 25,000 transient workers⁹ come to the valley annually, it is practically certain that some of these movements are followed by a considerable number of workers each year.

Direct Migration from Surrounding Cities. Those workers who leave their city homes to work in the hop and fruit harvest are probably the least mobile group among the transients. Their migration consists of a move directly from their resident city to the Yakima Valley and back. Some come for fresh air and sunshine, some come for a vacation, but most of them come because they need work. They usually know what they will find to do, and work fairly steadily while they are in the Valley. Eighty-five transient workers, more than a third of the sample, were identified with this movement, and approximately half of this number came from some Puget Sound city (Figure 1). Eight came from Seattle and eight from Tacoma. Others came from Everett, Walla Walla, and Kennewick, Washington, and Portland and Salem, Oregon.

Coastwise Migration. The professional transients who depend upon seasonal labor for a year-round livelihood are faced with a more serious problem. They seek to find year-round employment by moving into areas where there is a demand for farm workers, and moving out when there is no longer any work.

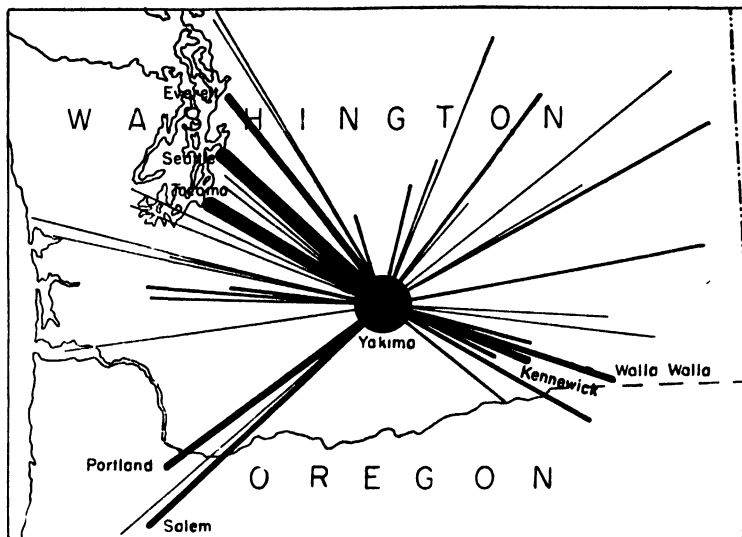
One general cycle embracing a broad movement is the coastwise migration, which follows the interior agricultural belt from the Mexican border to the Yakima Valley, a one-way distance of approximately 1,250 miles. Thirty-seven cases of this type appeared in the sample. These workers winter in cities of Southern California, or pick cotton in California or Arizona. They start north, following the San Joaquin and

⁹ Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

Sacramento valleys during March, April, and May, doing a little planting and tilling, although not working steadily. They reach the Willamette River Valley of Oregon in May or June, where some stay to train

FIGURE 1

VOLUME OF MOVEMENT OF FARM LABORERS FROM THE VARIOUS TOWNS AND CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND UPPER OREGON INTO THE YAKIMA VALLEY DURING THE SEASON 1935-36. (EIGHTY-FIVE OUT OF THE SAMPLE OF 233 TRANSIENT CASES ARE INVOLVED IN THIS MOVEMENT.)



hops, while others go on north to pick berries, peas, and cherries along the Columbia River until midsummer and finally arrive in Yakima during July or August. When the November slack season comes on, the workers drift back to California to pick oranges and cotton.

This movement, from all indications, is not as prominent as might be supposed. For one reason the distance covered entails a cost that is almost prohibitive, and so it is followed mostly, though not exclusively, by single workers who are free and can travel light. Besides, the demand for agricultural workers is not such that the transient can hit the peak season of labor both in California and in Washington. The demand for labor in California is also highest from June to October,¹⁰ with the emphasis on the latter months, so the two states compete for the labor supply. However, there are some factors which may encourage this move-

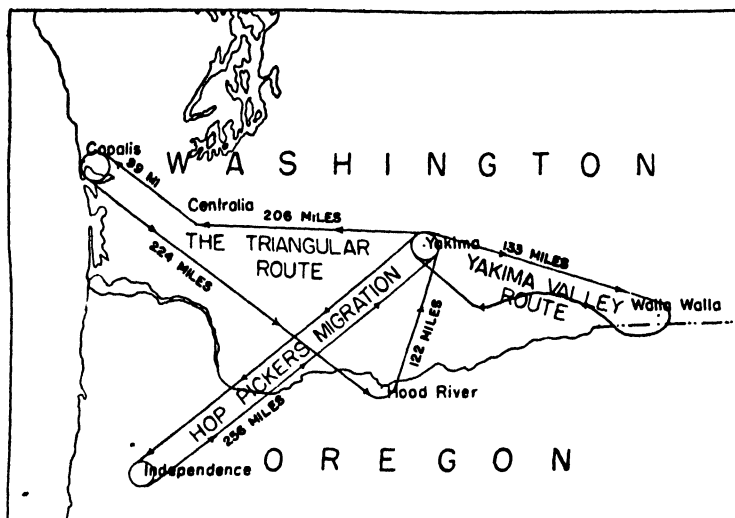
¹⁰ *Migratory Labor in California*, p. 49. State Relief Administration of California, July, 1936.

ment. Agricultural wages were somewhat higher in Washington than in California during the period of study,¹¹ probably because of the competition of large amounts of Mexican and Oriental labor in the latter state. There is also a group of transient people who go to the warmer California climate during the winter, because it is easier and cheaper to live, and then drift northward in the summer to avoid the intense heat.

The Triangular Route. There are several local movements more closely followed than the coastwise route (Figure 2). The most definite route which approaches year-round employment in seasonal industries follows a triangular movement covering a distance of approximately 650 miles by the shortest improved highway route. After the apple picking season is over, the workers go to Centralia, Washington, where they pick ferns

FIGURE 2

YEAR-ROUND ROUTES OF MIGRATION FOLLOWED BY EIGHT OR MORE OF THE SAMPLE OF 233 TRANSIENT FARM LABORERS DURING THE YEAR PRECEDING THE INTERVIEW



for floral decorations and Christmas displays. For most of them, this work is completed by Christmas, but some stay on through January. The work is steady, though it is not highly remunerative. From there they continue to the seashore near Copalis and Ocean City, just north of Grays Harbor, and dig clams. The season runs from January until late in

¹¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, "Index of Agricultural Wages."

May,¹² but it is at its height during March and April. The work is done independently, and the clams are sold by the pound to canneries. The labor is hard, the hours are long, and a good, strong man makes only from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day. Early in June the workers journey down to the Columbia River to The Dalles, Oregon, where there is a strong demand for pea pickers, and later in the same month, for cherry pickers. Some workers go back down the river to White Salmon, Washington, to pick strawberries, but most of them go on up to the Yakima Valley, arriving in July or August. Here they remain through the hop harvest in September, and many stay on through the apple harvest, which reaches its height about the middle of October and terminates early in November.

Although it is possible to work a large part of the year by following this triangular route, the people following it do not work continuously because of the time spent in moving, getting settled, and locating jobs. Also, adverse weather conditions do not permit full-time employment. The annual income of this group is not very large because of the low piece rates that are paid. The average head or independent worker makes approximately \$225, and the average family makes somewhere near \$375. All the work available on this route is paid on a piecework basis, and it consequently draws a lower type of workman. It is probable that more adept and consistent laborers could earn more money at other employment. One advantage of traveling this route is that the clam canneries generally provide cabins in which the diggers live during the winter season. Perhaps this is one reason why families follow this route much more than do the single workers, in spite of the fact that very few of the women or children are able to dig clams.

The Migratory Hop Pickers' Movement. Another route of farm laborers confined entirely to the Pacific Northwest is the movement from Independence, Oregon, and vicinity to the Yakima Valley and back again—a round-trip distance of 512 miles (Figure 2). This migration is typical of families having several older children or dependent parents who are able to work, and having family heads who are unable to provide a steady family income. The majority of these families are relief

¹² The commercial clam digging season extends only from March 1 to May 30; however, it is legal for any person to dig up to 36 clams during the closed season. This number serves for food during the winter months and besides a large number of clams are illegally sold before the Washington open season by being smuggled into Oregon where there is an open season.

cases.¹⁸ They are drawn from all parts of the Willamette Valley, Oregon, into the hop fields near Independence, and are employed there during the later part of August. About the middle of September, when the season is about over in Oregon, they travel northward to Yakima, arriving in time to take in the last part of the hop harvest. There are always a few who feel that they can do better in Yakima than in Oregon, so they do not wait for the end of the Oregon harvest. When they finish in the Yakima Valley many of them have only a few dollars, which is not enough to take them out of the country or enough for them to live on more than a few days. This forces them to seek public assistance in Yakima during the winter, thus causing one of the most serious relief problems in the county.

The Yakima Valley Route. There is a third comparatively short annual migration which tends to follow the lower end of the Yakima River (Figure 2). A large number of single men and married men without children spend the winters doing chores on wheat and cattle ranches near Pendleton, Oregon, and Walla Walla, Washington. In May they move into the hay fields around Kennewick. They remain in the vicinity of Kennewick until the cherries are picked in June. They then move up into the lower valley when the soft fruits ripen. In September they drift into the hop fields, and in October they find employment in the apple orchards and warehouses. A small number of those who follow this general yearly pattern remain in the Palouse wheat country of southeastern Washington until after the wheat harvest in August, then go directly to the upper valley in September. About the first of November they return to their winter quarters.

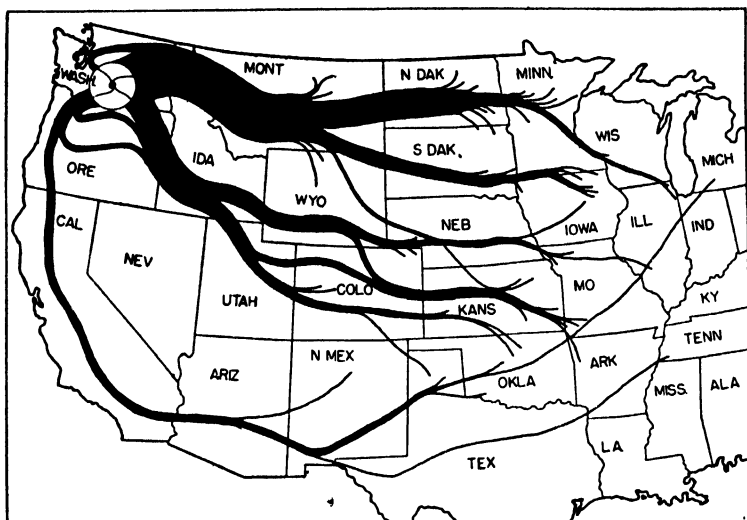
Drought Migration. In addition to the normal transient group, the drought migrants have become an increasingly important source of farm labor in recent years (Figure 3). Representatives from every drought state are among those interviewed, although the larger part of them come from the northern part of the drought belt, especially from Montana and the Dakotas. There are three distinct routes generally followed by the immigrants from separate sections of this drought area. Those from Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico move generally westward from the dry area to California. Some of them, apparently dissatisfied with the possibilities offered there, come northward up the coast, stopping in the Yakima Valley because of the demand for workers at the time of their arrival. This group is relatively small, probably because

¹⁸ From unpublished data.

most of them remain in California. The immigrants from the central states, including Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas, generally follow the central route, most of them stopping around Salt Lake City and

FIGURE 3

MIGRATION ROUTES OF THE 56 FARM LABOR FAMILIES INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE OF 233 TRANSIENT WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE YAKIMA VALLEY DURING 1935-36 WHO MOVED FROM POINTS EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS TO THE YAKIMA VALLEY



southern Idaho, and from there come to the Yakima Valley. The northern route is used far more. Large numbers from the Dakotas and Minnesota come through Montana on their way West. Some of them stop at Butte and in the mining districts of northern Idaho, some of them stop at Spokane and go from there to Yakima, and some go directly to Seattle and then back to Yakima. The majority of them, however, come directly to Yakima from their native states, making the entire trip in about a week. A few of them return to their native state but they usually stay in the valley or settle in some other part of Washington after the harvest.

The Local Movement. There is a local movement of resident workers which is not covered by the data assembled for this paper but which in many ways is of utmost importance. A large part of the resident laborers live in the city of Yakima, or in the smaller surrounding towns when no work is available. Their migration consists of going a few miles

into the open country, whenever they find a job, then back to town until they obtain another. The slack winter season leaves them without employment, and they remain in town where they hibernate on relief for the winter. This develops a class of more or less undesirable citizens in the towns. Even though the relief costs are not borne by the municipalities, there is considerable objection to this element by townsmen because they create slums, problems of delinquency, immorality, and vice.

Significance of Varying Population Densities and Regional Development in the Ecology of Kansas

*Roy L. Roberts**

ABSTRACT

The westward surge and rebound of immigrants to Kansas in the last half of the nineteenth century was followed by constant shifts of population from higher to lower density areas, and from rigorous pioneer activities to the more convenient and less strenuous life in the settled regions which were due in large part to the effect of the topography, climate, rainfall, and natural vegetation in the three demographic subregions within the state. Successive stages of community development as well as varied cultures and different occupational and personality types have accompanied these population shifts from region to region.

Recent social and economic maladjustments have awakened people to the importance of a knowledge of the age and sex distribution of the population within their respective areas. The demand for old age pensions is causing state and federal administrators to inquire into the number and distribution of their citizens over 60 or 65 years of age. Technological improvements in industry and the "speeding up" which has come with these improvements have gradually lowered the age at which men are "let out" or refused employment in mechanical industries. In many industries a man is an "old man" at 45 years of age, a fact which has caused many people to become "age" conscious. At the other extreme are agitations for child labor legislation, discussions of the declining birth rate, and legislation for the equalization of school taxes in many parts of the nation. In some sections, especially certain rural areas, the young people have been drained off into the cities or other regions, and the "home community" has been left without effective leadership.

While people have become "population" conscious as a result of these conditions, seldom have they taken the additional step and asked

* Director, Division of Research and Statistics, State Board of Social Welfare of Kansas.

other questions, to which answers are necessary for an understanding of demographic characteristics and distribution. Are the age and sex distributions the same in all regions, or are there wide differences within any state, and even within such relatively small areas as the county and city? If wide differences exist, and they do exist in most of these areas, what are the ecological conditions or factors which have produced this dispersal? This paper¹ is primarily concerned with a few of these factors as they affect the age and sex distribution in Kansas, but since similar conditions exist in other states² this study should be of interest to others concerned with demographic changes.

Kansas was inundated by the westward rush of immigrants in the last half of the nineteenth century. Although travelers had crossed the state in their explorations of the West, and had used it as a highway in the mad rush to California for gold in 1849, it was not opened for settlement until 1854. The most important outfitting post for the trek westward was at Kansas City, and consequently large numbers entered the state at that point and settled along the watershed of the Kaw River. A few immigrants entered along the eastern border, notably at St. Joseph, Missouri, and a few entered from Nebraska. The eastward rebound of immigration had not yet started, and few came into the state from the South and West.

The settlers from the farming regions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, from which a large proportion of Kansans came, were accustomed to a family farm of about 160 acres, which implies approximately four families per section of land, or about 15 persons per square mile. A greater density than this usually indicated that agriculture had developed beyond pioneer conditions and that towns and cities were being established. As eastern Kansas approached this degree of maturity it ceased to attract the pioneers from the East, who were seeking cheap land and a chance to make a fortune. Likewise it lost its more adventurous settlers who sought to avoid the increasing competition for land by moving westward, taking up new claims, or purchasing virgin soil upon which to start their new homes.

These immigrants who moved into central and western Kansas during the eighties and nineties found to their dismay that these sections could

¹ The more general aspects of this question are discussed in an article by Robert Ezra Park, "Human Ecology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1931), 1-15.

² Wm. L. Harter and R. E. Stewart, "The Population of Iowa, Its Composition and Changes," Iowa State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 275*, November, 1930.

not support as large a population as those farther east. The collapse of the boom, resulting from this rush into central Kansas in the eighties, sent many of the more timid and older settlers back to "God's country" or to the "wife's folks." The drought and "hard times" in the nineties produced the same effect upon those who had ventured into the western third of the state. The extent of this westward surge and rebound can be appreciated in some measure by the fact that 12 counties, or 11.4 per cent of those in the state, reached their maximum population in 1890. Eighteen additional counties, or 17.1 per cent, reached their maximum in 1900. This constant shift of population from the higher to the lower density areas, and from the rigorous pioneer activities to the more convenient and less strenuous life found in the settled regions, had a pronounced selective influence upon the groups and communities concerned. These influences will be discussed later.

A previous study³ indicates that the state should be divided into three major subregions if its population characteristics and distribution are to be adequately understood. These areas were differentiated by the striking contrasts which exist between the density of the 1930 rural-farm population of the counties in contiguous subregions;⁴ in most instances there is a marked differential in the population density of adjoining counties when they are located in different subregions. The approximate boundaries between the Eastern and Central, and the Central and Western Subregions are the Ninety-Sixth and the Ninety-Ninth Meridians, respectively. Of the 105 counties in the state, the Eastern Subregion includes 26 counties; the Central, 37; and the Western, 42.

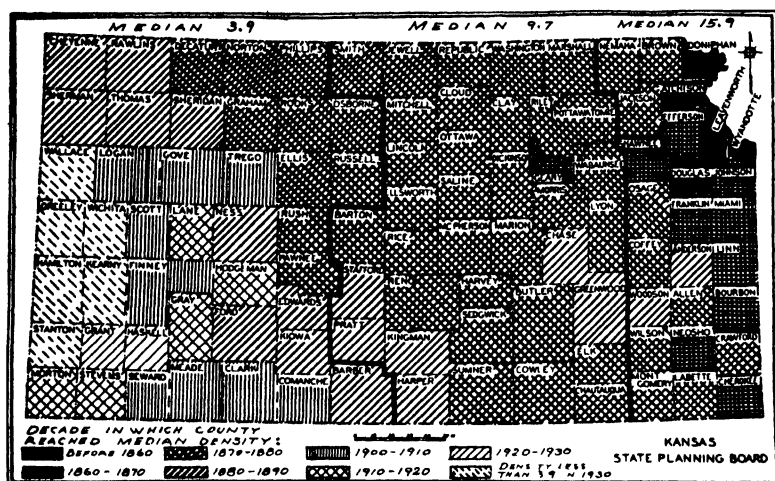
The density of the rural-farm population in the median county of the Eastern Subregion in 1930 was 15.9 persons per square mile, which approximates the critical point at which it was suggested that an agricultural community becomes "settled" and passes from a pioneer to more advanced stages of community development. The comparable median density for the two other subregions was somewhat lower; for the Central Subregion it was 9.7 persons per square mile, while in the Western Subregion it was 3.9. In counties where the density of the total population greatly exceeds the density of the rural-farm population, in the median county of the subregion in which it is located, this greater density may be interpreted as indicating that the farms are smaller than

³ Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *The People of Kansas*, Topeka, The Kansas State Planning Board, 1936.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-42.

the average for the subregion, which results in a greater number of families per square mile; that the farm families are for some reason larger than the average; that towns and cities account for the excess

FIGURE 1
SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS



population; or that some combination of these factors is responsible. Under the assumption that this density criterion differentiates the counties which are still in a pioneer stage of agricultural development from those which have entered more advanced stages of community life, it is possible to determine at which Federal Census date each of the counties ceased to be a pioneer community.

The application of this criterion indicates that Atchison, Doniphan, Douglas, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte were settled by 1860. (See Figure 1.) Bourbon, Cherokee, Franklin, Geary, Jefferson, Johnson, Linn, Miami, Neosho, and Shawnee reached this standard before 1870. The largest group, which includes Allen, Barton, Butler, Chautauqua, Clay, Cloud, Coffey, Cowley, Crawford, Decatur, Dickinson, Elk, Ellis, Ellsworth, Graham, Harvey, Jackson, Jewell, Labette, Lincoln, Lyon, McPherson, Marion, Marshall, Mitchell, Montgomery, Morris, Nemaha, Norton, Osage, Osborne, Ottawa, Pawnee, Phillips, Pottawatomie, Reno, Rice, Riley, Republic, Rooks, Rush, Russell, Saline, Sedgwick, Smith, Sumner, Wabaunsee, Washington, and Wilson, met the standard in 1880. Those reaching the criterion by 1890 were Anderson, Barber, Chase, Cheyenne, Edwards, Ford, Greenwood, Harper, Kingman, Kiowa,

Ness, Pratt, Rawlins, Sheridan, Sherman, Stafford, Thomas, and Woodson. The drought and "hard times" of the nineties deterred the westward rush of settlers and sent many back to "God's country"—the former homes of the disillusioned pioneers. Not until 1910 did the swell of the immigration wave again lift additional counties out of the pioneer stage. At that time nine other counties were settled, viz., Comanche, Clark, Finney, Gove, Logan, Meade, Scott, Seward, and Trego. These were followed by Lane, Hodgeman, Gray, Stevens, and Morton, in 1920, and by Grant and Haskell before 1930. This enumeration leaves six counties in the extreme western part of the state which have never attained a population density equal to the criterion established for the Western Subregion, i.e., Greeley, Hamilton, Kearney, Stanton, Wallace, and Wichita. Greeley with the sparsest population has a density of only 2.2 persons per square mile; Kearney with the densest population has only 3.8 persons per square mile. If this criterion were the only standard to be applied, one might be inclined to say that these counties have not yet been settled—that they have not yet passed beyond the pioneer stage of agricultural development—but an analysis of the effect of topography, climate, rainfall, and natural vegetation upon the distribution of population in other parts of the state indicates that these counties are about as densely populated as they are likely to be for many decades to come.

One very significant aspect of this spread of population within Kansas is that by 1860, six years after the state was opened for settlement, five of the counties in the northeastern part of the state had a population density of over 15.9 persons per square mile, which indicates that they had reached a stage of agricultural development somewhat beyond that of the pioneer. Others were approaching a similar stage of development, but almost two-thirds of the state had no recorded population. By 1870, 15 counties, comprising one-seventh of the state's total and approximately seven per cent of its area, were passing from the earlier into the more matured stages of rural life, and in some instances even into the fully developed stages, before other regions of the state had even begun settlement. This means, of course, that the historical development of Kansas has been regional rather than general. It means that successive stages of community development have been relayed from region to region by the movement of population groups.

In the same way varied cultures and different occupational and per-

sonality types have also been relayed from region to region. According to Park,

First arrivals were the explorers, trappers, Indian traders, and prospectors, with a sprinkling of outlaws. In the next line of advance were the land seekers, squatters and frontier farmers bent on establishing the first frontier establishments. They were followed finally by a swarm of restless enterprising adventurers of all sorts, among them representatives of a frontier *intelligentsia*—the men who eventually became the lawyers, politicians, and newspaper men of the booming settlements.⁵

While in many states this process of succession has led to stable adjustments, in Kansas it has had some deleterious consequences. Central and western Kansas could not be developed in the same manner that the eastern section had been; the semi-humid, treeless plains refused to bow to the methods used in subduing the humid farming regions from which these pioneers came. Laws and customs adequate for eastern Kansas failed under the stress of pioneer conditions. Personality and occupational types which successfully met the demands of the corn belt went down to defeat under the onslaught of the dry, hot winds of the Southwest. Many of the present social and political problems also owe their origin to the fact that the regional differences and regional growth of the state have brought to each section conditions and needs peculiar to itself and its stage of development.

One of the problems associated with this regional or sectional development of the state has been the general segregation of the population on the age basis. The successive migrations have, as a rule, left the older inhabitants in the earlier settled regions; consequently, there is a striking variation in the age distribution in the different sections of the state. This wide variation in turn has been a vital factor in determining the character and extent of the organizations and institutions established by these population groups, as well as the viewpoint taken toward social and economic issues. As would be expected, the response to the current issues of state and community welfare have reflected these community and regional differences.

In any area which is developing surplus numbers as a result of immigration or of natural increase, that is, excess of births over deaths, it is usually the younger, unattached elements represented by the young men and women seeking social and economic opportunities, rather than their parents or the older members of the community, who migrate to newer

⁵ "Succession, An Ecological Concept," *American Sociological Review*, I (1936), p. 172.

regions. The age and sex distribution resulting from this regional development of Kansas is clearly revealed in Table I, which gives the percentage distribution of the 1930 population by age, sex, and by sub-regions or areas differentiated by the date at which they were settled, or passed beyond the pioneer stage of community development

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 1930 POPULATION OF KANSAS BY AGE
CLASSIFICATION WITHIN REGIONS SETTLED AT SUCCESSIVE PERIODS*

Age	Date of Settlement									State Total 1930
	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900†	1910	1920	1930	1930‡	
Under 5	8.3	8.3	9.1	10.3		11.1	12.0	13.3	11.5	9.1
5-9	9.4	9.5	10.1	11.1		11.7	12.6	12.1	11.6	10.1
10-14	8.6	9.1	9.7	10.6		10.8	11.2	9.9	10.6	9.6
15-19	8.4	8.9	9.4	9.6		10.4	10.2	10.0	10.1	9.3
20-24	8.6	8.4	8.6	8.6		9.6	9.1	10.7	10.1	8.6
25-29	8.1	7.2	7.4	7.4		7.6	7.7	8.7	7.9	7.5
30-34	7.8	6.9	6.9	6.8		6.7	7.1	7.8	6.4	7.0
35-44	15.0	13.3	13.3	12.8		12.2	12.6	12.5	12.0	13.4
45-54	11.4	11.4	10.9	9.9		9.3	8.5	7.8	9.2	10.8
55-64	7.8	8.6	7.6	6.8		5.8	5.0	3.9	5.9	7.6
65-74	4.5	5	4	4.2		3.5	2.9	2.2	3.4	4.6
Over 75	2.0	2.6	2.3	2.0		1.3	1.1	0.9	1.2	2.2
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

DISTRIBUTION OF THE 1930 POPULATION OF KANSAS BY THE NUMBER OF
MALES PER 100 FEMALES IN EACH AGE CLASSIFICATION WITHIN
REGIONS SETTLED AT SUCCESSIVE PERIODS*

Age	Date of Settlement									State Total 1930
	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900†	1910	1920	1930	1930‡	
Under 5	107.2	103.0	104.1	102.7		103.3	101.5	99.2	98.8	102.7
5-9	104.6	105.3	102.5	104.6		105.5	103.6	120.0	104.9	104.6
10-14	101.0	104.3	104.0	102.0		107.2	104.3	111.6	111.1	104.6
15-19	101.2	102.8	100.4	103.4		109.4	118.7	108.5	106.5	104.6
20-24	100.6	101.8	97.3	102.5		107.6	112.1	113.6	140.3	109.9
25-29	107.6	96.8	94.8	103.4		109.1	116.4	114.6	135.4	106.8
30-34	116.2	97.2	94.7	102.3		110.2	119.1	124.9	125.2	107.8
35-44	119.6	98.9	100.9	108.3		114.0	142.6	130.7	125.5	111.7
45-54	116.2	102.5	107.0	115.3		118.6	140.8	162.5	136.0	121.9
55-64	111.6	107.9	113.0	122.1		133.1	161.4	156.7	153.0	125.1
65-74	114.2	111.4	113.1	124.1		140.7	150.0	140.7	166.3	131.3
Over 75	107.0	94.2	102.3	110.4		120.8	114.5	211.8	138.8	121.0
All Ages	109.4	102.4	102.7	107.0		111.6	100.5	123.4	121.5	110.0

*Compiled from U. S. Census Reports for 1930

†No additional county reached the standard during the decade 1890-1900

‡The population per square mile in this area is less than the density criterion established to determine when a community passes from a pioneer to more advanced stages of community development. However, this area can not be spoken of as being unsettled for many facts indicate that the land under present conditions will not support more people than it now does. A comparison will show that its age distribution is almost identical with that of the area settled by 1910.

The most striking characteristic of these age distributions is the increasing percentage of the population in the younger age groups, as one moves from the regions first settled to those more recently settled. Some minor variations in certain of the areas, due to local conditions, are noticeable but they do not affect the major generalization. The area settled by 1860 had 8.3 per cent of its population in 1930 in the group under five years of age, while the region which attained the standard in 1930 had 13.3 per cent of its population in this classification. On the other hand, old age is predominant in the earlier settled regions. The area settled by 1870 had 2.6 per cent of its population over 75 years of age in contrast with the region settled by 1930 which had only 0.9 per cent of its citizens in this classification. Both regions are quite similar in the middle age groups; in the 30 to 40 year age bracket the range is from 6.4 per cent to 7.8 per cent.

The sex distribution also presents some interesting facts, though the degree of urbanization seems to have more influence than any other factor in determining this ratio. Agriculture predominates in the more recently settled regions and here the men far outnumber the women. In the areas settled by 1870 and 1880, the cities have drawn a greater number of women than men in the 25 to 35 year age bracket. However, for the state as a whole, men dominate every age group. The most evenly balanced age group is that under five years of age where the ratio is 102.7 males per 100 females; the most unbalanced group is found in the 65 to 74 year age bracket where the ratio is 131.3.

This short summary of the ecological developments in Kansas indicates (1) that the historical and demographic development of the state has been regional rather than general or state-wide; (2) that successive stages of community development, varied cultures, and diverse occupational and personality types have been relayed from region to region by the movement of population groups; (3) that out of these ecological adjustments have come demographic and social arrangements, which are reflected in the response made to issues of community and state welfare.

Co-operation as a Culture Pattern Within a Community¹

C. R. Hoffer*

ABSTRACT

The development of a culture pattern within a local community is illustrated by the co operative activities both formal and informal, which occurred in the community of Howell, Michigan. The community is a comparatively old, well established one. Its total population was approximately 8,000 of whom 3,615 persons resided in the city of Howell, a county seat. The population is predominantly native white and the cultural characteristics of this group tend to prevail. Formal co operative activities began in the 1890's with the formation of the Livingston County Holstein Friesian Association and were extended gradually to the following: (1) A Dairy Herd Improvement Association, (2) A Farmers Co operative Association and (3) the Livingston County Veterinary Service. The more informal co operative activities included the establishment of a community hospital, a public library, the organization of charities and the development of various town county relationships. As these activities developed gradually, the exact time when the pattern of co operation appeared cannot be determined with exactness. It seems logical to conclude, however, that it appeared when, and to the extent that, the people accepted the idea of co-operation irrespective of any specific activity and were ready to apply it as occasion demanded.

It is customary in sociological terminology to define culture as a complex whole, including material goods as well as knowledge, beliefs, customs, and other acquired habits of the people in any particular area. These cultural factors tend to arrange themselves so that certain ways of behaving become the characteristic and expected modes of response on the part of the people. For purposes of analysis these ways of responding may be considered as culture patterns. They appear in local communities as well as in larger units of population. Thus it happens that communities may develop patterns in their culture which are favorable to social progress, or, on the other hand, develop those which have a retarding influence on community development.

The purpose of this paper is to show how co-operation (considered as

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¹ The factual data presented in this article were secured in connection with a social survey of the Howell community conducted by the Sociology Section, Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station. This report is *Journal Article No. 331* (n.s.) from the Station.

the process in which individuals and groups work together to attain desirable goals) appears as a culture pattern in one selected community. Sometimes this pattern may be manifest in formally organized co-operative associations, while in other instances it will appear in less formal ways involving merely voluntary action on the part of the people. Its essential characteristic is the ready acceptance of co-operation as a means of providing for common needs of the people in the community. A description of the development of this pattern on a community basis is of value in showing the importance of co-operation as a process in community life. Furthermore, it illustrates the autonomy which a community may have in the development of its culture, a matter which is of considerable interest, in view of the fact that there is concern over the possibility of the smaller communities maintaining any degree of independence as state, regional, and national programs develop.

The community considered in this connection is a comparatively old, well-established community in central Michigan. Its center, the city of Howell, is the county seat of Livingston County in which it is located. The city had in 1930 a population of 3,615. Its trade area includes approximately 188 square miles of territory with an estimated population of 4,745. Thus the total population of the community was about 8,300. The population is predominantly native white; consequently, the cultural characteristics of this group tend to prevail. The chief occupational activity in the community is farming, although there are three factories in the city which employ from four to five hundred workers in normal times.

Aside from the usual mutual-aid activities which are commonly found in neighborhood or community life, the first manifestation of co-operation in the community was the formation of the Livingston County Holstein-Friesian Association in the 1890's. The occasion for the emergence of this organization was a combination of two factors: the establishment of a milk condensary in Howell in 1892 and the enthusiasm which one man in the community (shall we call him a leader?) had for Holstein cattle. He imported some animals of this breed directly from Holland. The milk plant created a market for milk, and Holstein cows produced large quantities of it.

The organization had a continuous and prosperous existence. In 1936 there were approximately 300 members in the association. Through its activities the community became widely known as a producing center for

Holstein cattle, and many animals for breeding purposes were sold to buyers in other parts of the United States. When the meetings of the organization were held, a great many propositions of interest to the community were "talked over" and thus the pattern of co-operation was nourished. Among the subjects considered by members of the association the following may be mentioned: (1) the employment of a county agricultural agent in Livingston County; (2) the formation of a co-operative association for the purchase of feed; (3) the formation of a Mutual Fire Insurance Company; (4) the organization of the County Farm Bureau; and (5) the establishment of a "Black and White" field day, a co-operative venture on the part of the farmers and the Agricultural Extension Service. Suffice it to say that these projects have become realities in the community.

A Dairy Herd Improvement Association was started in the county in 1922. Its purpose is to provide for testing the quality of milk which cows give, and thus to furnish a basis for the disposal of unprofitable animals. The organization has had a successful existence and furnishes a second instance of the development of a pattern of co-operation among farmers in the community.

In 1917 a Farmers' Co-operative Association was organized in the community, and in 1925 was reorganized under the provision of a different legislative act. There were in 1935, 165 charter members in the organization and 600 nonmember customers who were sharing the benefits of patronage dividends. The association buys all kinds of grain and has the distinction of being the only association in the state to operate a co-operative flour mill. The organization sells various kinds of farm supplies, such as seeds, feeds, and farm machinery, and it is estimated that in 1935 this association had 80 per cent of the entire business in the community in connection with the handling of farm supplies. Its total volume of business in that year was approximately \$165,000. A subsidiary association has been formed to sell gasoline and other oil products.

More recently, in 1936, the Livingston County Veterinary Service was formed. This association, sponsored by the county agricultural agent and the local representative of the Rural Resettlement Administration, is considered one of the first organizations of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to make available veterinary service for farmers, particularly those with the lower incomes. Each member pays a membership fee of \$5.00 irrespective of the amount of livestock he has. Besides this he agrees to pay an additional charge determined by the

amount of livestock owned. With this as a basis, a veterinarian is employed who agrees to make 12 calls a year to the farm of each member, and in addition two emergency calls, if necessary. The plan is working satisfactorily. Leaders of the project attribute its success to the co-operative spirit which has been characteristic of the farmers of the county.

Another manifestation of the pattern of co-operation in a different phase of community life is the development of hospital service. Although this did not follow the formal procedure in co-operative organization, it did, nevertheless, involve attitudes favorable to co-operation on the part of both town and country residents. Briefly stated, the development of this service took the following course. At first the home of a wealthy citizen was given to the city for hospital purposes. Then in 1927 the City Council voted \$600 to have plans made showing how the house could be remodeled for hospital purposes. Later a special election was held and voters of the city authorized a bond issue of \$50,000 to build an addition to the house, and to equip the entire structure for hospital purposes. As soon as the building was completed, rooms were furnished by contributions from various families or organizations in the community. The hospital is under the general supervision of the City Hospital Commission. Physicians in Howell constitute the medical staff. Approximately 400 residents in the community have used the hospital each year since it was established in 1928. There were hospitals in other communities, such as Lansing, Ann Arbor, and Detroit, within a distance of 30 to 40 miles of Howell, but it is highly improbable that all of the people who came to the Howell Hospital would have gone elsewhere for this service.

Co-operative attitudes which characterized the development of hospital service were evident also in the establishment of a library. In 1875 a Ladies' Library Association was organized. This association loaned books until the present library was built. In 1901 a supervisor of the township in which the city of Howell is located proposed that a petition to have a library be submitted to the voters. The petition was duly submitted and the vote carried by a two to one majority in the following year. Then a well-to-do family in the community gave land for the library building, and a grant of money was secured from the Carnegie Foundation. Thus with these sources of funds available, the library was built and formally opened in 1906. Its support for current expenses is derived from taxation. Since its establishment the library has increased its supply of books as well as its circulation. For example, during the

period from 1924 to 1929 the circulation increased from 15,427 to 25,146 volumes. In 1930 slightly more than 35 per cent of the population in the community were registered as borrowers at the library.

In certain other phases of community life similar attitudes of co-operation are manifest. A number of pupils from country districts came to the high school in the city. Consequently, soon after the law was enacted in 1917, the city school board established a vocational agriculture course under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Law. During recent years the athletic coach of the high school has been employed through the summer months, and under his direction a varied recreational program consisting of soft ball, swimming, tennis, and other playground activities has been developed not only for school children, but for those out of school as well. The music director of the school is employed during the summer, and occasionally programs of interest to the community, such as band concerts are given by the pupils. Churches in the community have also manifested attitudes of co-operation since several union meetings have been held by the Protestant churches, and a number of groups in different parts of the city have been organized for Bible study. In 1930, 19 organizations (churches and other groups) formed a central committee, or Association of Charities, as it was called, to unify and co-ordinate their work.

In the field of town-country relationships some co-operative activities have developed also. The businessmen observed the trouble farmers were having in parking their cars and rented a vacant lot which could be used without charge for parking purposes. Also, in 1925 the city of Howell and the farmers co-operated to provide fire protection. Farmers who wished to do so made a contribution of \$50 toward the purchase of a community fire truck. Sixty-eight farmers paid these subscriptions and the truck was purchased. The city of Howell pays for the maintenance of the truck and answers calls to farms of these subscribers.

Thus it appears that the community under consideration has acquired the pattern of co-operation in its culture. The idea of co-operation, separate and apart from any specific instance of co-operative activity, has permeated the community. Like a chemical solvent, co-operation extends from one activity to another, because the attitudes of the people are favorable to this method of meeting their common needs. With the pattern thus established co-operative activities are likely to be extended to other community interests, such as co-operation on the part of consumers, consumer credit, and the financing of medical services given out-

side the hospital. Each successful venture in co-operative activity in one phase of community life makes easier and more probable its development in other phases.

To the sociologist interested in the theory of social relationships as well as to the community leader, the experience of the Howell community indicates that the pattern of co-operation develops gradually. When it actually appears cannot be determined with exactness. As a theoretical proposition it would seem logical to conclude that the pattern becomes a reality when, and to the extent, that the people accept the idea of co-operation irrespective of any specific activity, and are ready to apply it as occasion demands.

Mutual aid, considered as a process of extending assistance whenever needed without thought of compensation on the part of the person extending it, does not serve the needs of modern communities with complex social relationships. Co-operation, however, is a process which can be adapted to modern communities. It makes possible a systematic means of meeting the common needs of individuals in complex situations. Co-operation, therefore, promises to be a dominant influence in community life as soon as people realize its importance.

One further point may be noted. It is commonly thought that rural or semi-rural communities such as the Howell community develop their culture from influences emanating from the larger centers of population, that is, the cities. In this community, however, such an assumption does not hold. The pattern of co-operation was largely indigenous, since influences favorable to co-operation from outside its borders were not different than in other communities of its type where co-operation did not develop. Direction or regulation by the larger units of government or other control agencies did not interfere with the process. The fact that its development has occurred without special stimulation from outside agencies suggests that local communities may still maintain a considerable degree of autonomy in the formulation of their culture patterns.

Personality of Individuals and the Rural Community Pattern

*Richard L. Schanck**

ABSTRACT

A technique called cluster-bloc analysis is used to discover patterns of personality traits common in individuals of a rural community. Several significant gross patterns are discovered, but refinement indicates the essential uniqueness of personality in the degree that it is a synthesis of many attributes. The two most significant patterns might be called strong and weak patterns. The strong pattern is characterized by ascendancy, drive, expansiveness, and social participation. The weak pattern lacks these qualities. Differences in intelligence and socialization divide these large groups into smaller blocs. The rôle of the different blocs in the community is indicated.

PERSONALITY AND SOCIETAL BEHAVIORS

In several earlier articles the writer has attempted to demonstrate the psychological nature of societal behavior, i.e., folkways, mores, public opinion, and social institutions.¹ These behaviors, of course, represent only segments of the individual's repertory of actions. These cross-sectional analyses are in a sense only actuarial in that they demonstrate by and large what the group psychology is; but we can never tell which individuals are completely described, as for instance, just which individual is typical and which one is atypical.

The rôle of personality factors in such behaviors was discussed in passing. On the whole, conformity in a group seemed to depend upon segmental attitudes rather than personality, i.e., attitudes of conformity, impressions of universality, conditions of pluralistic ignorance, etc. Gross uniformities, such as a central tendency of a normal distribution, seemed more often to reflect personality factors.

But any item of behavior, whether it be conformity to an extremely

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¹ R. L. Schanck, "A Study of a Community and its Groups and Institutions Conceived of as Behaviors of Individuals," *Psychological Monograph VIII* (1932), vi-133; R. L. Schanck, "A Study of Change in Institutional Attitudes in a Rural Community," *Journal of Social Psychology*, V (1934), 121-128.

institutionalized code of conduct, or a fairly unique form of behavior which is more like the behavior of others than different, can be viewed in terms of its relationship to the personality of the individual.

PERSONALITY AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

A new program has been inaugurated which seeks this side of the problem. It is interested, not in the statistical or actuarial picture of multi-individual conduct, but in the meaning of societal behaviors in the life of the particular individual who manifests them.

The personality of an individual is a dynamic structure. It encompasses the whole individual as a unity. There seem to be in general two methods of discovering the synthetic side of this picture. One is the method of case history and biography. The other is a synthetic handling of many personality variables at the same time.

This particular study has attempted the last procedure. It sets up a technique for handling at the same time eight so-called personality traits of the individual. It creates blocs of "most alike individuals" in regard to a personality profile on all eight traits. Then an attempt is made to relate the blocs of most-alike individuals to problems of the community pattern, the societal behaviors already reported in earlier studies.

THE COMMUNITY OF ELM HOLLOW

The community studied, Elm Hollow, New York, is described at some length in the original monograph. It suffices to recall at this time its general characteristics. Elm Hollow is an isolated village off the main railroads and highways in central New York. It has a fairly successful economy as rural communities go, producing dairy products and beans for the market, and maintaining a feed mill which supplies the Long Island duck market. These industries are largely in local hands. The average income is around \$1,000 a year. The citizens are of Anglo-Saxon stock and Protestant faith. The younger folk have been drawn off to the city. The village has some of the characteristics of New England villages and other characteristics more like those of Middlewestern communities.

METHOD OF THIS STUDY

Many lists of scalable traits exist in the literature of psychology. In general, a trait is supposed to be a generalized form of behavior which has been demonstrated to have a low correlation with other proposed

attitudes. The whole conception of traits is under fire at the present moment. We believe, however, that the attack has been against the extreme analytical use of these specific forms of behavior out of context of personality, and our emphasis at this point is on both synthetic and analytical procedures.²

The most usable list of traits proved to be the following:³

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| a) Intelligence | e) Conservatism |
| b) Ascendancy | f) Over self-evaluation |
| c) Drive | g) Social participation |
| d) Expansiveness | h) Socialization |

It is obvious that some of the favorite traits of the literature, such as extroversion, have been omitted. Those employed here indicated a pattern of behavior which was familiar to rural individuals. The traits are almost self-explanatory. Five individuals who were above the average of the community in scientific aptitude were chosen to rate their neighbors on these traits. They rated upon a 1-10 basis with 5.5 as a mid-point. They were told to keep the community as a frame of reference. The most intelligent individual was to receive a 0 and the least a 10. The same procedure was to be followed for the other traits. Whenever the spread between the ratings of the five individuals exceeded four points the rating was eliminated.

The ratings were then subjected to a technique worked out by Professor H. C. Beyle, and called "cluster bloc analysis." Professor Beyle describes his technique thus:

It is not that of measurement of degree of association between a quantitative series (correlation), but given any number of quantitative series . . . employment of the method results in the discovery of the several significant sub-groups of entities among the larger group, in which sub-groups of blocs an ascertained cluster of attributes is significantly associated (i.e., above chance), all or each of which attributes so associated are present in all members of a bloc at an ascertained maximum magnitude.⁴

Besides breaking up our community into blocs of "most alike" people on the eight personality traits, it would be possible using other techniques of Professor Beyle to find indices of significance which measure the degree of cohesion among a bloc. These indices of significance seem

² See G. W. Allport, *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation* (New York, 1937).

³ Taken from the North Carolina Rating Scale of F. H. Allport.

⁴ H. C. Beyle, *Identification and Analysis of Attribute Cluster Blocs* (Chicago, 1931). Professor Beyle originally suggested this problem and the blocs were worked out by his staff.

to offer little advantage to our present purpose, so that the data given are treated only to the extent of dividing the community into groups of individuals who are roughly alike to a significant degree on all eight ratings.

The likeness is only a gross similarity. It can be said that the members of each bloc are more likely to be associated with each other in regard to being *on the same side of the mid-point on eight traits named* than with other individuals of the community not included in their bloc. Table I presents the blocs with the ratings of the individuals. One hundred and forty-eight individuals were rated.

TABLE I

"MOST ALIKE" INDIVIDUALS IN THE COMMUNITY

(*a*—intelligence, *b*—ascendancy, *c*—drive, *d*—expansiveness, *e*—conservatism, *f*—over self-evaluation, *g*—social participation, *h*—socialization)

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>
1. Bright, Strong, Socialized Bloc, abcdefgh +								
1. June Coleman	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.5	2.5	1.5	5.0
2. Robert MacConnell	3.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	5.0	1.5	1.4	4.0
3. Harry Swan	4.0	2.5	5.5	2.0	4.0	3.5	2.0	4.0
4. Eva Youngstown	3.0	2.5	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.0
5. Emily Fairbanks	4.0	1.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.5
6. Fred Matthews	2.5	4.5	2.5	2.0	4.0	4.5	3.0	3.5
7. Evelyn Hall	3.0	2.5	5.0	1.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	2.5
8. Elsie Carpenter	3.5	2.5	3.5	2.5	4.5	5.0	2.5	3.5
9. Jay Fairbanks	3.0	4.5	6.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	2.0	3.5
10. Irene Meyers	3.0	2.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.5	1.0
11. Daniel Wright	5.0	5.0	5.5	2.0	4.0	5.0	3.5	3.0
12. Agnes Lord	4.5	4.5	3.5	3.5	4.5	4.5	3.5	3.5
13. Eva Barston	5.0	3.5	3.5	2.0	4.0	6.0	2.0	1.7
14. Wendall Hall	5.0	3.0	2.5	2.0	5.0	5.0	2.5	2.0
15. Ed Youngstown	4.0	3.0	4.5	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	5.0
2. Dull, Strong, Socialized, bcdefgh +, a -								
1. James Hyatt	7.5	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	4.0
2. Mildred Ryan	6.0	3.0	2.0	3.5	5.0	3.5	2.5	5.0
3. Earl Langworthy	5.5	3.0	2.0	4.5	4.0	2.5	5.0	5.0
4. Helen Browning	6.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.5	2.5	3.5
5. Stella Langworthy	6.0	4.5	5.0	4.0	5.0	4.5	4.5	4.0
6. Albert Hamilton	5.5	3.5	3.5	2.5	1.5	5.5	6.5	7.5
3. Dull, Conservative, Weak, Unsocalized, eh +, abcdfg -								
1. Howard Lord	7.0	8.5	8.5	9.0	3.0	7.5	7.0	3.0
2. Jennie Potter	7.0	6.5	7.5	8.0	2.5	7.0	7.5	2.5
3. Merton Wilson	7.0	8.0	6.0	6.5	3.0	8.0	8.0	3.0
4. Susan B. Lord	6.0	—	5.5	8.0	4.0	7.0	7.0	4.0
5. Daisy Miller	6.0	6.0	5.5	6.0	4.0	8.0	5.5	5.0
6. Mark Carpenter	5.5	7.5	9.5	9.5	5.0	9.0	8.5	5.0
4. Bright, Strong, Unsocalized, abcdfg +, h -								
1. Mabel Taft	4.0	2.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	7.0
2. James Saunders	4.5	2.5	3.0	2.0	3.5	2.5	2.0	6.0
4. Ed Morales	5.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	1.0	5.0	7.0
5. Arthur Brown	5.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	7.5
6. Daniel Adler	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.5	1.5	0.5	4.0	6.0

TABLE I—CONTINUED

		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
<i>5 Bright Weak Radical Unsociatized a + bdefgh—</i>									
1	Alice Clayton (Myia)	5 0	3 0	2 0	5 0	6 0	6 0	7 0	2 5
2	Ezra Clayton	7 0	6 0	7 0	8 5	6 5	7 0	8 0	9 0
3	Ike Browning	3 0	4 5	6 0	4 5	5 0	1 0	4 5	3 5
4	Hattie Swan	6 5	6 0	7 0	5 5	5 5	7 0	6 5	6 0
<i>6 Dull Strong Unsociatized bdefg + ah—</i>									
1	Abner Marsh ..	8 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 0	0 5	5 0	9 0
2	Chester Cooper	6 0	3 5	5 0	5 0	5 0	3 5	5 0	6 0
3	Margaret Hill	8 0	4 5	4 5	3 5	3 5	5 0	10 0	10 0
4	Pat Washington	7 0	4 0	4 5	2 0	3 5	1 5	8 0	6 0
<i>7 Bright Conservative Weak Sociatized aeh + bcdgk—</i>									
1	David Flagg	3 5	7 0	8 0	7 5	3 0	7 0	7 0	2 5
2	Nellie Mason	5 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	5 0	5 5	9 0	4 0
3	Robert Carpenter	4 0	6 0	7 0	8 0	3 0	6 5	6 5	3 5
<i>8 Dull Radical Strong Unsociatized bcdgk + aeh—</i>									
1	Joan Morales	7 0	3 5	3 0	3 0	6 5	2 0	4 0	8 0
2	Ila Mercer	7 0	2 0	5 0	2 0	6 0	2 0	2 0	7 0
3	Allyn Von Ripper	7 0	2 5	3 5	2 0	5 5	3 5	4 0	8 0
<i>9 Ascendant Reclusive Unsociatized abcef + dgh—</i>									
1	Gus Preate	2 0	2 0	2 0	6 0	2 0	2 0	5 5	6 0
2	Annie McGuffey	3 0	2 0	4 0	7 0	3 0	3 0	5 5	6 0
3	Chester Crouch	2 0	3 0	2 0	6 0	3 0	3 0	8 0	9 0
4	(Albert Meyers)	2 5	3 0	3 0	8 0	3 5	3 0	5 0	8 0

UNCHARACTERIZED BLOCS

		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
<i>10 acedfgh + b—</i>									
1	James Ryan	2 0	5 5	3 0	2 0	5 0	5 5	1 5	1 5
2	Howard Coleman	3 5	6 0	3 5	4 5	3 0	5 5	3 0	6 0
<i>11 abdefgh + c—</i>									
1	Jennie Hamilton	—	5 0	6 0	3 5	3 5	5 5	5 5	2 0
2	Lou Smith	5 0	2 5	6 5	2 5	4 5	2 0	5 0	4 5
<i>12 abcd, gh + f—</i>									
1	Evans Barston	5 0	3 5	3 5	2 0	4 0	6 0	2 0	1 7
2	Katherine Browning	2 5	4 0	4 0	3 5	5 0	5 5	4 0	2 5
<i>13 adegh + bcf—</i>									
1	Mel Ann Coleman	3 0	5 5	5 5	2 0	5 0	5 5	3 0	1 5
2	Virgin a Hamilton	4 0	7 0	7 0	3 0	3 0	5 5	4 0	2 5
<i>14 degh + abcf—</i>									
1	Charlie Evans	8 0	8 0	8 5	3 0	2 5	7 0	5 0	4 0
2	Maurice Mercer	9 0	6 0	6 0	3 0	3 0	7 0	5 0	5 0
<i>15 adeh + bcfg—</i>									
1	Jessie Haven	4 5	6 5	6 5	3 0	3 0	5 5	6 5	1 5
2	Mark Swan	3 0	7 0	7 5	5 0	5 0	7 0	6 0	3 0
<i>16 deh + abcfg—</i>									
1	Char Carlton	6 0	6 0	6 5	4 5	5 0	6 0	7 0	5 0
2	James Gleason	7 0	8 0	8 0	3 5	2 5	7 5	6 5	3 0

TABLE I—CONTINUED

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
17. <i>defh +, abcg -</i>								
1. Elizabeth Gillette	7.0	6.0	5.5	4.0	3.5	5.0	6.5	5.0
2. Lloyd Gillette	8.0	—	7.5	2.0	4.0	2.0	6.0	4.0
18. <i>ah +, bcdefg -</i>								
1. John Beecher	4.0	9.5	8.5	9.0	8.0	9.0	6.5	3.5
2. Jennie Rouse ..	5.0	7.0	6.0	8.0	7.5	8.5	7.0	3.0
19. <i>abgh +, cdef -</i>								
1. Reggie Staplin	3.5	3.5	3.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	3.5	2.5
2. Lira Fagson ..	5.0	5.0	8.0	6.0	6.0	7.0	2.5	2.5
20. <i>ef +, abcdgh -</i>								
1. Charles Kitter ..	8.0	6.5	7.0	7.0	4.0	5.0	7.0	7.0
2. Donald Dey ..	7.0	7.0	7.5	.5	3.0	—	5.5	7.0
21. <i>bcdef +, agh -</i>								
1. Reggie Hill ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Pat Washington ..	7.0	4.0	4.5	2.0	3.5	1.5	8.0	6.0
Unique Patterns								
73 Individuals								

BLOCS OF MOST ALIKE PEOPLE

It is interesting to note how few blocs we have of people who are more "alike" than chance (in their being rated as upon the same side of the mid-post on all eight traits). The largest bloc contains only 15 members. There are three blocs of six individuals, two of four individuals, and three of three individuals, and finally there are 12 pairs of individuals. Seventy-three individuals resembled no one else even in gross pattern.

When we consider the additional possibilities of variation on the same side of the mid-point, for our pattern is a gross one, and the possibility that an identical pattern on a static rating would not indicate an identity in a dynamic sense (inasmuch as the importance of one trait in the life of one individual might be very different from that of a second person), this finding seems to argue for the essential uniqueness of every pattern which would include as many as eight traits.

Any pattern of similarity is then a gross pattern for each bloc discovered. Nevertheless it is a pattern which can be distinguished from other patterns. As such it should be a useful method of discovering information about the problems which interest us.

DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS

When an attempt was made to classify these blocs, one fact stood out. There seemed to be a common factor running through at least four blocs. Thus while the members of these four blocs varied in regard to intelligence and socialization, they showed consistent positive scores on ascendancy, drive, expansiveness, conservatism, and social participation. We shall call these four positive traits indexes of a strong pattern. Evidence elsewhere has shown that these attributes tend to inter-relate.⁶ Low scores on these same variables are as a consequence called evidence of "weakness." Strength is here a description of a pattern which is by and large outgoing, domineering, etc.

In the first and largest bloc of 15 members (bright, strong, socialized individuals) is shown the positive qualities we have called "strong" and in addition ratings of high intelligence and socialization. The bloc contains seven men and eight women. In the second (dull, strong) bloc of socialized individuals there are six members, containing an equal number of men and women. It differs from the first bloc only on the ratings in regard to intelligence. If we were to ignore the difference in intelligence we would create a bloc of 21 strong, socialized individuals. In the fourth bloc of bright, strong, unsocialized individuals there are four men and two women. By combining only intelligence and the attributes we have called "strong" we could have a bloc of 21 bright strong individuals varying in socialization. A dull, strong bloc of unsocialized individuals (Bloc 6) contains three men and one woman. By ignoring intelligence and socialization we could have a bloc of 31 strong individuals, the members of the first, second, fourth, and sixth blocs, who, however, vary in intelligence and socialization. The eighth bloc contains dull, strong, radical, unsocialized individuals. It contains two women and one man. By combining the sixth and eighth blocs we have seven dull, strong, unsocialized individuals who vary in regard to radicalism and conservatism.

The weak pattern is thus less prevalent in the community. The third bloc is a dull, weak, conservative, unsocialized pattern, wherein radicalism does not correlate with the other elements of a weak pattern. Evidently the weak pattern is chiefly a negation of ascendancy, drive, expansiveness, and social participation, for conservatism is a characteristic of both the weak and strong pattern in the rural community. In the

⁶ Unpublished doctor's dissertation of G. W. Allport in Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

seventh bloc we have a group of three individuals who resemble the members of the preceding bloc in weakness, but who are bright and socialized. This bloc contains two men and one woman. As in the third bloc the pattern is conservative. In the fifth bloc we have a radical group. This bloc is bright, weak, and unsocialized. But it does not destroy the point on conservatism just made, for in the eighth we had a radical bloc which was on the strong side of the mid-point but which is also unsocialized. Unlike the fifth, the eighth contained dull individuals, so that both these strong and weak blocs vary in regard to intelligence, conservatism, and socialization. A bloc of 13 weak individuals could be discovered in blocs three, five, seven, varying in intelligence, conservatism, and socialization.

THE STRONG AND WEAK PATTERNS AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

It seems worth while to note in passing some facts about these patterns. The strong pattern seems to fit into the ordinary conception of the American rural type as a hard-working, friendly, extrovertive individual. But it is interesting to note that at best we have only 34 individuals of this strong pattern. Moreover, these 34 vary in intelligence, conservatism, and socialization within the strong pattern itself, but all of them are on the same side of the mid-point on the strong traits. The strong pattern is, then, characteristic of only one-fifth of the community members, and all other blocs are much smaller. The majority of the members of the community are unique in their pattern of traits in so far as they do not resemble others even to the extent of being consistently upon the same side of the mid-point on eight traits. If there is an American rural pattern of traits it characterizes only a small minority.

Inasmuch as intelligence is a factor least affected by the social environment, it would seem possible that the cultural determinist does have a point here. Though intelligence, the most hereditary factor, varies, the group does reflect a certain set of interlaced traits: drive, ascendancy, expansiveness, over self-evaluation, and social participation. These traits do reflect that which has been called the "pioneer tradition." But one wonders if the community members ever reflected the ethic throughout. May it not be possible that a strong group such as this is the most important in the social structure of the day and as a consequence is taken as representative of the entire community? May it not be possible that there are biological reasons why this bloc developed the personality pattern described and why others were unable to develop it?

Cultural determinism would then mean that in a community certain people are selected out because they have a biological capacity to develop a pattern which is effective in a given epoch. But they are also selected up, for if their pattern is very effective they are rewarded for their abilities. Becoming a dominant group in a culture, they may tend to characterize the community and cause us to forget the majority of individuals in their essential uniqueness of pattern.

The members of the weak patterns are few in number. Moreover, the weak pattern in the rural community does not necessarily mean failure. The weak pattern in general seems to represent a failure in maturation of personality, an infantile condition rather than a deterioration pattern. Many of these individuals survive very well in the rural community but they are anarchistic in their habits. Many are loyal plodders, and their lack of socialization consists of inability to participate in the community life rather than rebellion against it.

The exception to this general anarchistic adjustment is the bright, weak, radical, unsocialized group. This is a mischievous group. Unable to lead because of weak traits, they nevertheless have an effect upon community life through indirect means. One of them is a practical joker, another the instigator of trouble, and a third, a sower of political dissension.

Evidence, which cannot be presented at this time, from personal biographies and studies of avocational interests and vices seems to indicate a strong narcissistic tendency in the weak group. The usual characteristics described by Freud of penuriousness, obstinacy, reclusiveness, and extreme neatness were often correlated with this personality pattern, as well as the capacity to be very self-sustaining.

This pattern instead of causing maladjustment is often a cause of success in the rural community. Many of these individuals are very content and their unsocial nature does not necessarily interfere with their earning a living. The approach of city culture might be their undoing. Their strong liking for kinaesthetic pleasures, and dislike of verbalization resembles the peasant psychology with its interest in the land, the blood culture which the Nazis are often discussing. Many writers have implied the widespread nature of anal eroticism, the fundamental basis of narcissism throughout Germany. Perhaps the Nazi appeal has a strong hold upon people of the weak psychology with their antisocial nature and their interest in sensory rather than conscious processes.

AN ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC BLOCS

An inspection of blocs for other relationships is illuminating. Certain blocs suggest obvious relationships to the community pattern, where others seem to demonstrate no known connection. Thus two blocs, the sixth and ninth, immediately present some interesting facts. The ninth, for example, is composed of individuals whose ratings are in themselves unusual. That is, they are all individuals of a mixed pattern. They possess high intelligence and two characteristics of the strong pattern, drive and ascendancy, but lack the other strong characteristics, being reclusive, unsocialized, and lacking in social participation. Yet every one of these four individuals is an important individual in the community. Three of the four are men, and these three men fall among the six most wealthy individuals in the locality, all having made their own fortunes in local business enterprises. The fourth member, a woman, has inherited a fair income from her father who was a substantial furniture factory owner, but more important still has fallen heir to the social position of her mother who was the daughter of a former Baptist preacher and a strong figure in the community.

One can see the advantage of high intelligence, drive, and ascendancy in business enterprise anywhere, but one wonders whether the same success could have been achieved in other than a rural capitalism by the possession of the pattern which includes reclusiveness, unsocialization, and lack of social participation. One might call this the Cal Coolidge, or New England, pattern. It is obviously successful in this rural community, though perhaps less so today than in the days when the small fortunes were built up.

The sixth bloc is another very interesting group because it includes such diverse personalities as a minister, a prostitute, a barber, and a mill hand. The preacher, who presides over the local Methodist Church for a year's period, had moved from one community to another, protected by the policy of the church which guaranteed him tenure, and which could place him in a community against the will of its members. He is not completely ineffective and has many friends in the community, although he is generally disliked by the more influential people. The characteristics of this bloc are low intelligence and unsocialization, but they possess most of the characteristics of the strong pattern—high drive, ascendancy, expansiveness, conservatism, and social participation. These individuals are all volatile personalities, great talkers, and sociable people. All of them are considered gossips. It has been suggested

that these individuals might be called good salesmen of inferior commodities. They succeed in a rural environment because of their sociable qualities and aggressiveness, irrespective of their mental ability or social intelligence. They have survived economically, at least, and to perhaps a greater social extent than they could do in the city.

Two other blocs, the fifth and eighth, also seem only slightly less obvious in their relationship to the community pattern. These two blocs are full of difficult people but of different kinds of troublemaking. The fifth is characterized by high intelligence and most of the weak qualities; they are also radical and unsocialized. Three of these individuals are known for their troublemaking. The garage man, Ike Browning, likes to stir up community dissension by pitting one member of the community against another. Alice and Ezra Clayton are always attempting to stir up trouble by malicious gossip. Hattie Swan, on the other hand, has more of the characteristics of a practical joker. In the main the activities seem to indicate compensations for weak personalities worked out by high intelligence.

The eighth bloc differs from the fifth in being dull instead of bright, but otherwise follows a similar pattern. These individuals make trouble by fighting, brawling, and drunkenness. This also looks like compensation but of a less intelligent order.

Mere inspection failed to suggest any such interesting facts about any of the other blocs. The first bloc contained social lights, business men, successful farmers, good housewives, and many others. The second contained eminently respectable individuals, some of them quite successful, some just hard workers. The fourth bloc contained two ardent church workers, a successful grain elevator operator, a traveling salesman, and a former newspaper man. All are florid personalities. The other blocs are even more difficult to characterize.

UNIQUE PERSONS AND THE COMMUNITY PATTERN

Seventy-three individuals resembled no other individual in the community, even in a gross pattern of eight traits. Moreover, 24 individuals resembled only one other individual; so that 97, or 60 per cent of the members of the community, are unique in pattern.

It is impossible to give the ratings of the first group in this article. Each one would have to be treated as a separate case. But it does seem possible to say some things about the unique personality in the community. Let us inspect the personality profiles of some of the unique cases.

As a principle of selection three individuals of the community were asked to list the 40 individuals who played a significant rôle in the community.⁸ Nine of the unique individuals were found to be of this group.

We call attention to the pattern of five individuals: Mr. MacGuffey, the supervisor of the poor; Mr. Fagson, a Baptist preacher; Mr. Ely, a retired Y. M. C. A. secretary; Mr. Frank Bucknell, a garage man; Mrs. Bucknell, his wife; and Mr. Applegate, Mr. Fagson's successor in the Baptist Church. All of these individuals are considered as having an important rôle in the community but are unique in their profile.

Mr. MacGuffey and Mr. Fagson, though not alike, had high scores in intelligence, ascendancy, drive, and over self-evaluation. They were, however, reclusive, radical, and low in socialization and social participation. Mr. Applegate was also high in ascendancy, drive, and over-evaluation, but he differed from the first two in being very expansive and low in intelligence. Mr. Ely was high in intelligence, but low in all of the strong qualities, and also radical and medium in socialization and social participation. Mr. and Mrs. Bucknell were high in all of the strong qualities, but both were only medium in intelligence, and Mrs. Bucknell tended toward radicalism.

These unique patterns seem to have some significance. It is interesting to see that, of the nine successful individuals with unique profiles, four were in social service. The high radical score characterizes the whole group. One wonders if perhaps this one factor bends the entire personality. Mrs. Bucknell, the only other individual with a radical score, has been much the subject of gossip for the community, in regard to sexual irregularity.

Three other successful individuals among the unique were characterized by greatly mixed patterns. The local postmaster, Mr. Brown, had high scores in ascendancy and drive, but was low in expansiveness and over self-evaluation, qualities which usually correlate. Mr. Browning, the garage man, had weak scores in ascendancy, drive, and conservatism, but was very egotistical, intelligent, and socialized. Mrs. Pritchard, the grocer, was characterized by high drive, ascendancy, and conservatism, but was ordinarily lacking in self-esteem, and not given to social participation. In most cases these unique individuals show particular traits

⁸Thirty-one of the 40 successful cases were found to be among the blocs of "most alike" individuals. Almost none of the successful individuals came from weak blocs. A bloc of four intelligent, reclusive, and unsocialized individuals all qualified. These blocs are to be discussed in a later article where they are more to the point.

which point to success. Two of the individuals have very high scores of socialization. The last is average. Their intelligence is above average. They are average individuals in expansiveness. Just why the profile works successfully is more difficult to say. Because we are unable to say anything about the weight of the single traits in the personality pattern, it is hard to answer this question.

It seems fair to conclude this point by saying that by and large the successful individuals of the community are found among blocs of "alike" individuals rather than the unique patterns, but that a few unique patterns provide success.⁷

⁷ This study was made possible by grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Harvard Council for Research in Social Sciences. Other aspects of this problem are to be published at an early date.

Rural-Urban Differences in the Time Interval Between the Marriage of Parents and the Birth of Their First Child, Utah County, Utah

*Harold T. Christensen**

ABSTRACT

This is a comparative study in child spacing. Rural-urban differences in human fertility have been widely recognized, but any complete picture of these differences will never be known until studies on the spacing of children supplement those on birth rate and family size. Marriage and birth records from Utah County were sampled for the period 1905 to 1935, and from dates given, the time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child was calculated for each of 1,670 cases. These intervals were then compared on the basis of parents' residence and occupation, with the following result: the time interval under consideration was substantially shorter in rural areas and among farmers than in urban areas and among nonfarmers. In view of the higher birth rates usually found to be associated with rural and agricultural people, the findings of this paper fulfill a logical expectation.

Rural-urban differences in birth rate and size of family have long been recognized, but similar comparisons on child spacing are practically unknown. Yet, the one suggests the other. Higher birth rates in rural areas have been logically suggested by the larger rural family, and subsequent studies have found these two to be associated according to expectation. Likewise, it can logically be expected that shorter lapses in time between marriage and the first birth and between subsequent births in the family, will take place in rural areas than in urban areas because of the higher birth rate and larger family size in rural areas. But this expectation needs vindication, and the present study, by comparing the time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child, makes a step in that direction.

The scope of the investigation is limited: (1) to the time interval preceding the birth of the first child (The time intervals between the first and subsequent births are probably just as significant, but they are

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reserved for future study); (2) to Utah County, Utah, for the 12 years: 1905, 1906, 1907, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1929, 1930, and 1931 (These limits in both space and time have kept the problem small enough to be workable. With greater resources than are available to the author at present it would be advisable to extend the study); (3) to only some of the couples married in Utah County during the years which were used; and (4) to rural-urban differences.¹

Sources of data are the Utah County marriage and birth records. The marriage records were carefully surveyed for the 12 selected years between 1905 to 1931, and data were recorded for all cases found in which the wife was not over 44 years of age and the husband's residence was within Utah County at the time of marriage.² A total of 2,725 cases was found to have these specifications. These were then checked with the Utah County birth records, and data were recorded for every case in which a first child was born to the couple within four years from the date of marriage,³ provided, however, that this first child was not both premature and stillborn.⁴ The 1,670 cases which were found to meet all of these conditions form the basis for all comparisons which follow.

¹ Generalizations coming from comparisons other than between rural and urban groups will be given elsewhere by the author. The most important of these may be summarized as follows: (1) The general trend from the period 1905-07 to the period 1929-31 was toward an increase in the length of the time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child. (2) Homogeneity between husband and wife, as to both age and residence prior to marriage, was associated with the short time intervals while heterogeneity in these factors was associated with the long time intervals. (3) In general, the younger the couple at marriage the shorter was the time interval between that marriage and the birth of a first child. (4) The occupations of farming and unskilled labor were associated with short time intervals and the skilled and professional occupations with long time intervals. (5) Relief work was associated with disproportionately short time intervals. (6) An estimated 20 per cent of all first births studied had their conception before marriage.

² Women over 44 years of age were excluded, as were men residing outside the county at the time of marriage because of the low probability of their first child being born and registered in the county.

³ Admittedly, not all first children were born within four years from marriage, but most of them would. It was estimated that only about 2 per cent of the first births occurred later than four years from marriage.

⁴ Only about 20 cases were found in which the child was both premature and stillborn, but these were considered unrepresentative for this study and were therefore excluded. No attempt was made to exclude premature live births or mature stillbirths. Obviously the latter would not affect the time interval under consideration at all and should therefore be included. The former should properly be excluded, but records were so incomplete in this respect for the early years of the study that it was impossible to do so accurately. However, from a sample of the last three years studied, it was estimated that premature births composed about 4 per cent of the total. It is unlikely that this would make any material difference in the comparisons made here.

RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND THE TIME INTERVAL

The population of Utah County is largely urban.⁵ Rural residence is not at all uncommon, however, as indicated by the fact that in 27.4 per cent of the 1,670 cases studied here, parents were residing in a rural part of the county at the time their first child was born.

Table I is designed to compare the time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child on the basis of rural or urban residence at the time of the birth. The first three columns of the table present data for the total cases in the county, while the last three columns are concerned with only 175 selected cases. These latter cases are selected on the basis of homogeneity, as explained in the footnote. This is done to eliminate, as nearly as possible, all factors which may be influencing the time interval, except the factor being compared. In this

TABLE I

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE TIME INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE OF PARENTS AND THE BIRTH OF THEIR FIRST CHILD; CASES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO URBAN AND RURAL RESIDENCE OF PARENTS AT THE TIME THEIR FIRST CHILD WAS BORN

Intervals (in days)	Total Cases in Utah County			Selected Cases in Utah County*		
	Urban	Rural	Total†	Urban	Rural	Total
0-145	61	29	90	7	8	15
146-291	328	146	474	60	25	85
292-437	411	150	561	22	9	31
438-583	137	61	198	14	8	22
584-729	82	26	108	5	1	6
730-875	46	17	63	3	1	4
876-1021	27	11	38	5	2	7
1022-1167	17	5	22	2	0	2
1168-1313	21	10	31	1	1	2
1314-1459	13	3	16	1	0	1
Total . . .	1143	458	1601	120	55	175
Mean...	416.0	400.1	411.4	367.4	327.8	355.0

*Cases homogeneous in the following respects: Marriages were not performed in a Latter-day Saint temple; at the time of marriage the husband and wife were from the same locality; they were the same age or the husband was older by less than four years; the average husband-wife age was at least 18 but under 22, and at the time of the birth of the first child the husband's occupation was either farming or unskilled labor.

†This column includes only those who were living in Utah County at the time their first child was born. In 69 cases studied, parents who were married in the county also had their first child born in the county but they were legally residing elsewhere. These cases are not included in this column. Had they been the mean time interval would have been 412.6 days instead of 411.4.

⁵ Communities with populations of 2,500 or more are listed from the largest to the smallest according to the 1930 census as follows: Provo, Spanish Fork, Spanish Fork, American Fork, Payson, and Lehi.

way, the real relationship between residence and the time interval may be discovered.

It will be observed from Table I that the mean time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child is considerably shorter for the couples living in rural parts of the county than for those living in urban communities. This is true with both the total group and the selected group, and it harmonizes well with the logical expectation mentioned at the beginning of this paper.⁶

FARMING AND THE TIME INTERVAL

Not all rural workers are farmers, and not all urban workers are non-farmers; but since agriculture is the major occupation of rural Utah County, comparisons between farmers and other occupational groups will throw some light on the problem being examined. Thirty-nine and nine-tenths per cent of all couples studied here were farmers at the time their first child was born.

TABLE II
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE TIME INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE OF PARENTS AND THE BIRTH OF THEIR FIRST CHILD; CASES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION AT THE TIME OF THE BIRTH OF HIS FIRST CHILD

Intervals (in days)	Total Cases in Utah County			Selected Cases in Utah County*		
	Farmers	Nonfarmers	Total	Farmers	Nonfarmers	Total
0-145	28	64	92	5	9	14
146-291	199	291	490	39	39	78
292-437	258	334	592	15	19	34
438-583	88	115	203	9	6	15
584-729	38	78	116	2	2	4
730-875	24	40	64	3	1	4
876-1021	17	23	40	3	2	5
1022-1167	5	18	23	1	1	2
1168-1313	9	24	33	0	3	3
1314-1459	1	16	17	0	2	2
Total...	667	1003	1670	77	84	161
Mean...	394.6	426.1	412.6	346.0	366.7	356.8

*Cases homogeneous in the following respects. Marriages were not performed in a Latter-day Saint temple; at the time marriage the husband and wife were from the same locality, they were the same age or the husband was older by less than four years, the average husband-wife age was at least 18 but under 22, and at the time of the birth of the first child the parents were residing within Utah County, but outside of Provo.

⁶ This must not be construed to mean that more premarital sexual intercourse takes place in the rural areas. Of all first births, the per cent which took place less than seven 28-day months from marriage was 11.1 for rural and 11.0 for urban, a difference that is hardly significant. Then too, it is likely that contraception is more widely practiced in urban areas.

Table II is similar to Table I except that in this case the farmer and nonfarmer groups are compared. Data are given for both total cases and cases selected on the basis of homogeneity. It will be observed that the time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child is considerably shorter for the group of farmers than for the group of nonfarmers.⁷ This is true for the selected cases as well as for the total cases, and it parallels the conclusion given above; namely, that the time interval under consideration is shorter in rural areas of the county than in urban areas.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In accordance with expectation, the time interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child has been found to be substantially shorter in rural areas and among farmers, than in urban areas and among nonfarmers.⁸ This general conclusion is in harmony with the high birth rates and large families which are usually found in rural sections of the country and among farmers.

The most probable explanation for this shorter time interval in rural culture seems to be a rural lack of sophistication in regard to sex practices. It is likely that premarital sexual intercourse and birth control practices before and after marriage are both more prevalent in the city than in the country because of greater sophistication there—and also, probably, because of the greater geographic and financial accessibility of contraceptives in the city. If this is true, we would expect rural people to conceive more children proportionately in the early weeks and months of marriage than urban people, and thus experience shorter time intervals between their marriage and the birth of their first child—and this is exactly as we have found it here.

⁷ As with the rural-urban comparisons given above, this must not be taken to mean that premarital sexual intercourse is more prevalent among farmers than among nonfarmers. Of all first births, the percent which took place less than seven 28-day months from marriage was 8.7 for farmers and 12.3 for nonfarmers. This, coupled with the probable fact that birth control is more widely practiced among nonfarmers because of greater sophistication, would indicate that premarital sexual intercourse is probably greater among nonfarmers.

⁸ This is true, at least, within the scope of the present study.

The People of Arizona Irrigated Areas¹

*E. D. Tetreau**

ABSTRACT

All but about 32 per cent of the rural people on Arizona irrigated areas learned their ways of living and of farming in the "Dust Bowl," the Western Cotton Belt, the Old South, and Mexico. Of the remainder, less than one-half are native Arizonians. Influences of rural ways of living in other regions are still predominant in Arizona rural life. Almost one-half of the heads of rural households were unskilled laborers, the greater part being laborers on farms. Policies for agriculture should be made in the light of their probable effect upon the numerical strength of the various classes of workers. Net gains among upper level occupations and somewhat smaller net losses among occupations of the lower levels marked the seven-year period 1929-36. A considerable shift from urban centers to the open country took place. Proportionately greater numbers of children away from home were drawn from upper-level than lower-level occupations. Normal families predominated among all households, especially among unskilled laborers. Mexican women, as compared with other nativity and racial groups, had the largest completed families.

The chief task undertaken in this paper has been to select, present, and briefly interpret certain facts about the people of Arizona irrigated areas that are essential to intelligent planning for their welfare.

More than 2,700 rural households in the Upper Gila, Salt River, Casa Grande, and Yuma-Gila valleys were interviewed. They were situated in 10 land-survey townships, six of which were in the Salt River Valley, two in the Casa Grande Valley, and one each in the Yuma-Gila and Upper Gila valleys, and they were located on farms and in towns of less than 2,500.

Of 2,761 households, 2,023 were in the Salt River Valley, 177 in the Casa Grande Valley, 239 were in the Upper Gila, and 322 in the Yuma-Gila Valley. Numbers of households in each area represented proportionately the rural population of the area. From them was obtained information as to origin, occupation, changes in occupation, changes in

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¹ Data used in this paper were selected from the results of a survey of rural population mobility made by the Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the Works Progress Administration and the Resettlement Administration. Field work on this survey was done during the summer and fall of 1936 and information was gathered as of April 1, 1936.

residence, size and composition of households, and other data of social importance.

Origin of Heads of Households. Whence came the people who live in Arizona's irrigated areas? Answers to this question obtained from 2,761 heads of households showed that 32 per cent of the heads came from New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Arkansas, while an additional seven per cent came from the other Southern States. Thus a little less than 40 per cent of the heads of households came from the South. Other parts of the United States accounted for 17 per cent, four per cent came from foreign countries other than Mexico, and 25 per cent of the heads of households were born in Mexico. Only 15 per cent were native Arizonians.

A comparison of the several irrigated areas showed that 51 per cent of the heads of households in the Upper Gila Valley were born in Arizona, while 23, 11, and nine per cent, respectively, were native Arizonians, in the Casa Grande, Salt River, and Yuma-Gila valleys. Native Arizonians decreased as one moved westward. Early Spanish settlers as well as the pioneers from Utah found that water for irrigation was readily diverted from the Upper Gila as compared with the middle and lower valleys. This and other factors may help to explain these area differences.

That the greater part of the people who live on farms and in rural towns in Arizona irrigated areas came from other regions of the United States is particularly significant. They learned their ways of living, including agricultural practices, standards of housing and clothing, in the Ozarks, the Western Cotton Belt, the Old South, the "Dust Bowl," and Mexico. Relatively few came to Arizona from irrigated areas in California, Colorado, or Utah. Moreover, many in irrigated areas, born in Arizona, had their first experience in agriculture in dry farming or on the open range, an occupational training which has little bearing on irrigated farming. Also, among those that came from other states were health seekers and homesteaders without previous agricultural experience. These facts are important when reviewing the ways of living and of making a living of people in irrigated areas.

Occupations of Heads of Households. What did the heads of households do to make a living? Forty-eight per cent of the heads of households were unskilled laborers, 41 per cent being farm laborers and seven per cent unskilled workers in other industries; 27 per cent were proprietors, managers, and officials, 24 per cent being farm operators; 10 per

cent were skilled workers or semi-skilled; three per cent belonged to the professional and clerical classes; and 12 per cent were not gainfully employed. Skilled and semi-skilled workers were found in practically equal proportions, as were the professional and clerical groups.²

Proportions of unskilled laborers in the four irrigated areas varied from 45 per cent in the Casa Grande to 55 per cent in the Upper Gila Valley. On the other hand, professional persons, proprietors, managers, and officials constituted 31 per cent of the heads of rural households in the Salt River Valley as compared with 22 per cent in the Upper Gila. Casa Grande and Yuma-Gila Valley heads of households were found in these occupations to the extent of 25 and 27 per cent, respectively.

Rural studies have generally neglected the laborer classes, although they are to be found in varying proportions in all agricultural areas. Since they make up almost one-half of the potential voting strength of Arizona irrigated areas, whereas proprietors, managers, and officials constitute but little more than one-fourth of the voting strength of such areas, it would seem that policies affecting the size of land holdings, crop production and farming systems, and therefore the relative numbers belonging to the different occupational groups, should be weighed as to their probable effect upon the balance of local forces as well as upon agriculture itself.

Age of Heads of Households, by Occupations. What was the age distribution of the heads of households? How were occupations distributed among the different age groups? Seven per cent were under 25 years of age, 49 per cent were from 35 to 44 years of age, 36 per cent were in the age group from 45 to 64 years and eight per cent were 65 years or over. Only one per cent of all farm owners and managers out of a total of 498 were under 25 years of age, but eight per cent of the farm tenants (145) were in this age group. Thirty-six per cent of the owners and managers were from 25 to 44 years of age, as were 43 per cent of the tenants; while 63 per cent of the owners and managers and 49 per cent of the tenants were 45 years of age and over. Tenants were considerably

² Farm laborers were unskilled workers employed on farms, some having little experience, but the greater part experienced. Skilled and semi-skilled workers include those employed on farms as tractor drivers, orchardists, herdsmen, irrigators, and others. Of 2,713 heads of households, 1,292 were unskilled workers, 1,109 being farm laborers; 738 were proprietors, managers, and officials, 498 being farm owners and managers and 145 being farm tenants; 136 were skilled workers and foremen and 132 semi-skilled; 46 were in clerical occupations; 45 were professional persons; and 328 were not gainfully employed or were unknown as to occupation.

less numerous in the lower age brackets and more numerous in the higher age brackets than throughout the United States as a whole.³

Semi-skilled laborers (132) were found in the lower age brackets to a greater extent than any other occupational group. One-eighth of them were under 25; 67 per cent were aged from 25 to 44; and 20 per cent were 45 and over. Skilled workers under 25, on the other hand, made up only five per cent of the total; 37 per cent were 45 and over; the remaining 58 per cent were in the middle age groups. Thus skilled workers, a large part of whom were in agriculture, stood somewhere between farm tenants and semi-skilled workers with respect to age distribution.

Unskilled laborers constituted the largest occupational group. Their total was 1,292. Of these 1,109 were farm laborers. Ten per cent of the farm laborers were under 25 years of age; 60 per cent were from 25 to 44; and 30 per cent were 45 years of age and over. All unskilled laborers including nonagricultural laborers showed substantially the same age distribution as farm laborers.

Semi-skilled laborers, as already implied, were the only important occupational group in which greater percentages were found in the lower age brackets than among farm laborers, who in turn were generally younger than tenants. These facts coupled with the fact that 41 per cent of all heads of households were farm laborers suggests that less tenant and more hired labor is being used on Arizona irrigated farms than is to be found in areas where different farming systems prevail.

As might be expected, those heads of households not gainfully employed tended to concentrate in the upper age brackets. Sixty-nine per cent of them were 45 years of age and over, 21 per cent being 65 and over; 26 per cent were from 25 to 44 years of age; and five per cent were under 25. While a few, particularly in the upper age brackets, were not gainfully employed because economically able to live without employment, the greater numbers were in need of employment or relief, and they came largely from the ranks of unskilled labor.

Occupational Changes during Seven Years. What changes in occupations were made by the heads of the households during the period from January 1, 1929, to January 1, 1936? Answers to this question were indicative of adjustments made by 2,512 heads of households during the period that began with the year of the collapse of the great boom of the

³ J. D. Black and R. H. Allen, "The Growth of Farm Tenancy in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 51 (May, 1937), p. 408, chart 4.

twenties, and ended in the midst of the recent years of recovery. Of 445 farm owners, who were the most stable occupational group, it was found that 83 per cent who were in this occupational group in 1929 were in the same occupations in 1936; six per cent had become farm tenants; seven per cent had dropped to the rank of unskilled laborers; and the remainder were scattered among the occupations. Ironical it seemed, to find that the next ranking occupation as to stability was at the foot of the ladder. Unskilled laborers, largely agricultural, a total of 1,292, remained during the seven-year period fixed in their occupation to the extent of 80 per cent of their total numbers; four per cent rose to the ranks of the semi-skilled; two per cent to the class of skilled workmen; two per cent had become farm tenants; one per cent farm managers or owners; one per cent were nonfarm managers or owners of enterprises; and one per cent had gone into other occupations. In all 11 per cent moved one or more steps up the occupational ladder, 80 per cent remained where they were, and nine per cent dropped into the ranks of the unemployed.

Farm tenants, of whom there were 181 on January 1, 1929, failed to hold their ground during the ensuing seven years. Only 36 per cent of them were tenants on January 1, 1936; 35 per cent had become unskilled laborers; six per cent were semi-skilled and six per cent skilled; while four per cent were not gainfully employed. The remainder moved up the ladder. Thirteen per cent became managers, prospectors, and officials, 11 per cent being owners or managers of farms.

Among those who were skilled laborers in 1929, 56 per cent were still so in 1936; 15 per cent had dropped into the unskilled class; eight per cent were semi-skilled; five per cent were not employed; and one per cent had found a place in the clerical group. The remaining 15 per cent had become proprietors, managers, and officials, largely farm operators. The semi-skilled made more changes, largely downward in the scale. At the end of the seven year period 36 per cent were still semi-skilled; 32 per cent were found among the unskilled; and four per cent were unemployed. Clerical employment claimed five per cent; seven per cent had moved up into the skilled class; and 15 per cent had become farm operators.

On the whole, changes in occupations made by 2,512 heads of households during the period of seven years yielded net increases among the principal occupational groups as follows: five per cent among farm owners and managers, five per cent among skilled workers, and 33 per

cent among semi-skilled workers; whereas net losses appeared among tenants, clerks, and those not gainfully employed to the extent of 21, 18, and seven per cent, respectively. Net losses among unskilled workers amounted to less than one per cent.

One of the most significant changes appears to have been the upward climb of 145 unskilled laborers, out of a total of 1,292, into higher occupational stages. This was an 11 per cent change. Another important change was the upward movement of 15 per cent of the skilled and semi-skilled workers into the owner-manager-official group.

A downward change took place in the shift of more than one-half of 181 farm tenants into the wage earning and unemployed groups. A fourth significant change was the descent of 150 proprietors, managers, and officials into the clerical, laboring, and unemployed groups. This amounted to 17 per cent of the total of 706.

All in all, the upper level groups seemed most able to maintain their place through the changing scenes of the period from January 1, 1929, to January 1, 1936.

Changes in Residence during Seven Years. What changes in residence were made by the heads of households during the period from January 1, 1929, to January 1, 1936? On January 1, 1929, 51 per cent of the heads that supplied information on this point, a total of 2,786, were living in the open country; 34 per cent were living in towns of less than 2,500 persons; and 15 per cent lived in towns and cities of 2,500 or more. That important changes had taken place during the following seven years was evidenced by residence of these heads reported as of January 1, 1936. On that date 68 per cent of the heads lived in the open country, an increase of 17 points over the record for January 1, 1929. The remaining 32 per cent were living in towns of less than 2,500. These changes indicate a movement from urban centers to the open country during the period. This movement was most marked in the Casa Grande Valley, a fact that is probably related to the recent development of a large part of the valley with water made available from the San Carlos project. The movement from cities to the open country was also important in the Salt River and Yuma-Gila valleys, but apparently **small** in the Upper Gila. Proximity to urban centers probably accounted for the changes observed in the first-named valleys, and greater distance may have retarded the movement in the Upper Gila. It is possible, also, that the larger proportions of young people in the population

of the Upper Gila (see below) indicated a more congested condition of population on farms than existed in the other valleys.

Age and Sex Composition of Population. A count of all persons in 2,717 households showed that out of a total of 12,631 persons, 11,436 were in the households on January 1, 1936, and 1,195 were away from home. Those away from home were nine per cent of the total. Among all persons, at home and away from home, there were 104 males per 100 females; but among those at home, 107 males per 100 females was the proportion. Clearly, men and boys had gone away from home in smaller proportions than women and girls. Only 80 males per 100 females were among the children away from home. It is to be observed, however, that the numbers of males and females in Arizona irrigated areas were a little more nearly alike than throughout the rural areas of the United States, in which the proportion was (1930) 108 males to 100 females. Women and girls in Arizona irrigated areas have apparently emigrated to towns and cities in a somewhat smaller proportion than they have in rural parts of the country as a whole.

Of the 11,436 persons at home on January 1, 1936, 41 per cent were under 16 years of age, the proportion of males under 16 being 40 and of females 42 per cent. Persons 16 years of age and over comprised 59 per cent of the total number. Sixty per cent of the males and 58 per cent of the females were in these age groups. Persons aged 65 years and over were three per cent of the total, there being more males than females in this age group. In terms of normal dependency 44 per cent of the population were under 16 or were 65 and over. Only a little more than one-half of the population were in the years when physical vigor makes men and women normally self-supporting.

More young people and children were found in the Upper Gila Valley, proportionately, than in the other areas. Forty-seven per cent of the population in the Upper Gila were under 16; while 40 per cent of the population in the remaining areas were in this age group, with no significant difference between areas.

Age and Occupation of Adult Children Away from Home. None of the 1,195 children away from home on January 1, 1936, were under 16 years of age. Ninety-five per cent of them were from 16 to 44 years of age. Almost one-fourth of all adult children who were away from home were farm laborers.⁴ Other occupations in order of importance were:

⁴ In the cases of female children away from home who were married and living with their husbands, the occupations of the husbands were reported.

unskilled laborers (nonfarm); semi-skilled and skilled workers; farm owners; clerks; tenants; nonfarm proprietors and managers; and professional persons. By large groups, 32 per cent were unskilled workers; 17 per cent were proprietors, managers, or officials; 17 per cent were skilled and semi-skilled workers; seven per cent were clerical workers; five per cent professional persons; and 22 per cent were unknown as to occupation, or not gainfully employed.

All but 53 of the 1,195 children who were away from home were under 45 years of age; 400 being under 25, 544 being from 25 to 34 years of age, and 198 from 35 to 44 years of age. Each group was classified as to occupation, and the distributions in the three groups were compared. Those in the upper level occupations including professional persons, proprietors, managers, and officials, clerical workers, and skilled workers, constituted 23 per cent of those under 25; 41 per cent of those aged from 25 to 34; and 46 per cent of those from 35 to 44 years of age. Those who were semi-skilled or unskilled workers, or not gainfully employed made up 77 per cent of all under 25; 59 per cent of all aged from 25 to 34; and 51 per cent of those from 35 to 44 years of age. The proportions in the upper level occupations increased as one passed from the lower to the upper age groups, and correspondingly the proportions in the lower level occupations decreased. Taking these facts into consideration it is believed that the proportionately greater number of the adult children away from home were drawn from households of the upper occupational levels.

Composition of Households. Three-fourths of all households (2,717) were normal; that is, they were composed of a man and woman, or a man, woman, and children. Among farm laborers' households 81 per cent and among all other households 68 per cent of the households were normal. Since the greater part of all other households were farm-operators', foremen's, or skilled agricultural workers' households, it would seem evident that these upper-group households compared unfavorably with farm laborers' households as to the proportions among them that were normal.

Broken families, composed of a man with children or a woman with children, accounted for eight per cent of all households. Only five per cent of farm laborers' households were broken, as compared with 11 per cent of all other households. Another eight per cent of all households were composed of but one person, either a man or woman living alone.

Among farm laborer households, six per cent were thus classed, as compared with 10 per cent of all other households.

Miscellaneous combinations of persons and families comprised the remaining eight per cent of farm laborers' households and 11 per cent of all other households.

Laborers' families in the Casa Grande Valley contained a smaller proportion of normal families than in any of the other areas. The percentage was 65 as compared with more than 80 in each of the other areas. The difference was largely due to an unusual number of one-person households, mostly lone men, among laborers' households in this area.

Normal families in Arizona irrigated areas not only include among their numbers by far the greater part of the population, but they apparently constitute one of the most important patterns of human relationships and of social control in these areas.

Size of Households. Households in Arizona irrigated areas had a median of 4.22 persons as compared with 4.12 among rural-farm households in the state as a whole, and 4.02 among rural-farm households in the United States as a whole. Households containing six or more persons comprised 24 per cent of all households in Arizona irrigated areas, whereas in Arizona as a whole they comprised only 20 per cent and in the United States 19 per cent. On the other hand, one- and two-person households made up only 26 per cent of the households in Arizona irrigated areas, in comparison with 31 per cent of the households in the country as a whole and 35 per cent of Arizona's households.

Comparison with Arizona Rural and Town Relief Households. Arizona rural and town relief households, June, 1935, had a median size of 3.73 as compared with 4.22 among households in irrigated areas. They contained one person only to the extent of 19 per cent while households in irrigated areas having but one person made up only seven per cent of the total; at the other extreme, 24 per cent of the households in Arizona irrigated areas contained six or more persons, in comparison with 19 per cent of Arizona rural and town relief households.

Normal households were found among rural and town relief households in the proportion of 58 per cent, while among farm laborers' households in irrigated areas 81 per cent were normal.⁵

Gainful Workers per Household. Three-fourths of the households

⁵ E. D. Tetreau, "Unemployment Relief in Arizona," Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 156* (Tucson, July, 1937), pp. 95, 100.

contained one gainful worker only; 17 per cent contained two workers; five per cent had three workers; and three per cent contained four or more. Households having more than one gainful worker were the less numerous among those whose heads were farm laborers; apparently related to this situation was the fact that only 83 per cent of the heads who were unskilled workers but not farm laborers, were male; while 98 per cent of the heads who were farm laborers were male.

Size of Completed Families. Married women 45 years of age and over were studied with respect to the number of living children reported by each one. This was done to get the sizes of completed families. Of a total of 795 married women 45 years of age and over, 450 were native-white; 281 were Mexican; and 64 were foreign-born white, Indian, Negro, Oriental, or other.

On the one hand, 17 per cent reported no living children whereas on the other, 21 per cent or more than one-fifth of all women had six or more living children. By groups, 16 per cent of the Mexican and native-white women and 33 per cent of all others reported no children; 26 per cent of the Mexican, 17 per cent of the native-white and less than one-fifth of all others had six or more children.

All completed families had a median of 3.11 children. With Mexicans women the median was 3.59; with native-white women 2.86; and with all others 2.58.

Should special crops be widely produced, it is probable that much hand labor in the fields and in packing sheds and plants will be needed, and laborer families will continue to compose a large share of the rural population. Apparently the proportion of Mexican workers available for work will not be reduced. In addition, should numbers of smaller farms be absorbed or consolidated into large holdings it is quite probable that the numerical disadvantage of native-white would be accentuated by a narrowing of the fields of opportunity for local employment or local entrepreneurship. On the other hand, adjustments in the direction of family-size farming units would tend to hold in balance the proportions of native whites, Mexicans, and others residing in Arizona irrigated areas.

Summary. A population, largely from other regions, has come to live in Arizona irrigated areas. Almost one-half of this population depends upon unskilled labor for its support. Although heads of households in the upper level occupations were generally able to maintain their places through the 1929-33 depression, farm tenants suffered severe reverses.

Notably, however, enough workers from lower level occupations moved upward so as to make a net increase among upper level occupations. A considerable shift from urban centers to the open country took place in January 1, 1929, to January 1, 1936. Sex proportions were more nearly equal in the rural population of Arizona irrigated areas than throughout the rural areas of the United States. Consideration of the ages and occupations of adult children away from home leads one to believe that the proportionately greater numbers of them were drawn from households of the upper occupational levels. Normal families predominate among all households but by far the greater proportions are found among unskilled laborers' households. Observation of the sizes of completed households showed that Mexican women had the greatest number of children living on April 1, 1936, native-white women rank next, and all other women have the smallest number. The normal family is outstanding among the institutions of these areas.

Notes

THE PROBLEM OF STABILIZING THE MIGRANT FARM LABORER OF CALIFORNIA

The lot of the migrant farm laborer is not a happy one, particularly in the Pacific Coast states. To some extent these same deplorable conditions exist in other highly seasonal industries, such as the salmon fisheries and lumbering, for example. In these latter industries, however, the labor force consists more largely of single men, or at least of men whose families do not travel with them. Thus despite the problems of intermittent work and low incomes, their situations do not present the far-reaching social problems which are found among the migrant agricultural workers.

This general problem has been present in one form or another for generations. Always it has been complicated by diversity of race and custom and, in all later periods, by farming systems dependent on labor supplies for which operators do not have continuous responsibility through the year. This lack of responsibility for the laborer in slack seasons is not, to be sure, greatly different from the situation which prevails generally in industrial concerns. For reasons later discussed, however, this problem is somewhat uncharacteristic for most farming sections of the United States. Where it occurs in agriculture the hardships are likely to be more severe than in industrial areas, because of the shorter periods of work and the lower rates of payment. Few will question the need for efforts to bring into this situation greater stability in living conditions, improved housing, and better incomes. Not only are the comfort and welfare of large numbers of present generation farm people concerned, but there are also very important considerations with respect to the rural and urban populations of coming generations.

The present discussion touches only one or two of the many facets of this complex problem. It seems worth while, however, to seek out some of the less obvious causes, and to see what may be possible approaches in attempts to ameliorate the recognized evils of the situation. While the problem exists in several areas, its most acute manifestations are to be found in California. This paper deals in the main, therefore, with the conditions found in that state.

A relatively large part of the labor force used in California agriculture consists of people who do not have a continuous relationship with a particular farm. In fact, approximately half the farm population of the state falls in this unstabilized labor group, admittedly one of the low income groups of the nation. It is also well recognized, at least among those familiar with the industry, that these low incomes are in large measure a result of very brief and intermittent periods of employment; periods so short in fact that even markedly increased rates of pay would still leave these families with inadequate budgets, in terms of what is often vaguely spoken of as the American standard of living. This intermittency

of employment arises from two factors: (1) very marked variations in the need for labor, and (2) excessive competition for jobs, and, in some cases, variations in labor supply which have no very specific relation to the conditions and requirements of the farms of the state. The first of these is well known and has had considerable factual study both in previous periods and more specifically in the recent studies by Professor R. L. Adams.¹ These studies have dealt with the demand for seasonal labor by time periods and by areas. The second factor has as yet defied adequate analysis. Large masses of unassimilated migrants have come into the labor situation in California, often without any specific pull on the part of the agricultural industry of the state, but rather as a result of the loss of previous connections and opportunities for employment. During the depths of the depression this group was augmented by people of city origin who had been displaced from their customary urban employments. In the three years just past more important accretions have come from rural areas in other states, as a result of extremely unfavorable conditions in the areas where these people have been accustomed to live. On the other side of the picture there has been some gradual withdrawal of customary labor supplies, particularly among the Mexican groups encouraged to return to their own country by expected reforms in the land situation there.

The first of these two pictures, namely, seasonality of demand for labor, exists in some measure in many parts of the United States, but usually not in such extreme form as in California. The methods of dealing with it, however, vary because of a different institutional setup in the agriculture of some of the other states. This will be discussed more fully hereafter. The second factor is definitely a special California problem. If more people seek work than are needed for carrying on the activities of a given period, it is inevitable that a limited amount of work will be divided among them, thus reducing income per family below even that which would result from the natural seasonality of the work itself.

To digress for a moment, this seasonality of employment is not as unique as many assume it to be. It has been for at least two or three decades a prominent problem with the farmers of the Dakotas, of Montana, of Nebraska, of Kansas, and in the cotton areas. It has not there been recognized so distinctly as a labor problem, because most farm labor in these states bears a different relationship to the land than in California. For decades the wheat farmer has had a high peak of labor requirement during the spring sowing season and during the harvesting and threshing period, and a long period of comparative idleness, particularly during the winter months. Since, however, this laborer usually was a farm operator, either an owner or a tenant, he simply stayed on his farm in virtual idleness during five, six, or seven months of the year. Incomes were low in most years, since activity for four or five months of the year does not in most lines produce an adequate income for family living. However, because of their different relationship to the land these workers do have something in the way of stability of

¹ See "Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops," California Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin* (in press).

residence and means of getting along. Yet even in these areas, relief loads have been very high. Widespread efforts have been made to meet this problem through campaigns for increased livestock production, more chickens, more dairying, more hogs. In South Dakota the slogan of a balanced agriculture was widely popularized a few years ago.

Farther east the problem has been less acute largely because of the importance in those areas of dairying and other types of livestock agriculture, which provide a more uniform labor requirement. In the older cotton sections the problem has traditionally been met in a different way by the use of colored laborers, many of whom probably preferred somewhat intermittent employment and relatively low incomes to continuous work and a higher standard of living. This last statement may of course be questioned. Many who are familiar with that area will agree, however, that the typical Negro laborer does not like to work all the time.

Anyone who will take the trouble to review the farm management studies of the Middle West during the past two decades or more will be impressed by the fact that these farmers operate with what is virtually a fixed labor supply throughout the year, except for minor employment of outside help at certain peak periods. Here the efforts of farm management students have been turned in the direction of finding worth-while kinds of work for farm families to engage in during the off seasons of demand for crop labor. During these off seasons their labor is distinctly lower in value, and enterprises are carried on profitably which could not be engaged in if they were charged with the full going wage of the peak seasons. It is only on this basis that much of the dairy industry and the poultry industry of the Middle West can be explained. Caring for a few cows and a few chickens during the winter months may return to the operator not more than 15 or 20 cents an hour, yet this 15 or 20 cents an hour may be something in addition to what he would have had if he did not engage in these subsidiary enterprises.

In California, on the other hand, for a variety of reasons there has been almost from the earliest periods in the state's history a large pool of labor not directly associated with individual farms. Farm operators have found it possible to develop highly seasonal labor situations without being put under pressure individually to make use of the time of these laborers during off seasons. I would not want to be understood as contending that this difficulty would be eliminated by a different relation of the laborers to the land. The nature of many of the principal crops, with their extremely specific timing of work requirement, makes it inevitable that the labor demand would show more seasonality than in most parts of the United States, no matter what might be the relation of the workers to the land. It is probable, however, that with a somewhat different structure of the agriculture of the state, more pressure would have been put on farm operators to smooth out the **peaks and valleys** of labor demand.

Possibly even at the risk of some repetition, the broad outlines of this situation may be sketched very briefly. In Professor Adams' studies of the last year or two he finds three major periods of labor demand in the agriculture of California: a low period from November to April, an intermediate period from May to July inclusive, and a period of maximum need from August to October. Expressed in

percentages with the November to April period as base, the intermediate period requires 82 per cent more workers, and the maximum period 158 per cent more workers than are required in the relatively slack period from November to April. His estimates are as follows: an average monthly need of approximately 1,200,000 nine-hour man-days of labor, or a minimum of 59,000 efficient workers for the base period; an approximate monthly average need of 2,200,000 man-days, or a minimum of 100,000 workers for the intermediate period; and an approximate average monthly requirement of 2,900,000 man-days, or a minimum of 134,000 workers during the period of peak needs—as between the winter period and the fall months, a difference of some 75,000 workers. This then is the heart of the problem, and until some logical means for meeting it can be found, the farmers of the state, the agricultural workers of the state, and the state and federal governments are going to be confronted with grave difficulties in the way of low incomes to laborers' families, unrest among laborers, and shortages of labor at periods of acute need.

As I have already indicated there is no quick and easy solution to this problem. Palliative measures will undoubtedly have to be taken for many years to come. Certainly there is ample room for wiser handling of these palliative measures, such as the Works Progress Administration and relief programs. The basic question before us is: what lines of adjustment might be initiated with a view at least to lessening the acuteness of the difficulty?

First among these, I am inclined to put the necessity for better and more continuous knowledge concerning the labor needs and the labor supply. Considerable work has been done on the first of these. This program is in fact approaching a situation where fairly good estimates can be made by the official, semi-official, and private agencies as to amounts of casual labor which will be needed from month to month in each area.

The second factor is one on which we have as yet been unable to find a satisfactory procedure. Members of the Giannini Foundation staff and of many of the other agencies concerned have discussed it and have tried out various methods of maintaining better and more continuous information with respect to amounts of such labor available. None of these have been sufficiently accurate to make practical any thorough-going efforts to meet the situation. In my judgment, it is along this line that some of the next steps in research should be directed. It is obviously inadequate, even if it were practical, to determine as of some one period how much of such labor is available. The picture is a constantly changing one and some procedure must be devised whereby there will be continuous, prompt, and reasonably accurate estimates of numbers of workers available by locality. Only so can we hope to get a better matching of workers with the available jobs. Even more difficult is the problem of suitability of given workers for given kinds of work. Mere tabulations of numbers are not sufficient. Workers must be suited to the jobs they are to be used on. Mere shuffling around of laborers unsuited to the tasks to which they are assigned makes for hardship both to employee and employer; often expensive moves on the part of the employee

which he cannot afford to make; loss of time, and increased expense for the employer.

Implied in this approach is the idea of labor supplies not actually needed in agriculture being shifted to other lines of work, thus avoiding too much dispersion of a given available income among large numbers of laborers. This again presents a major problem which runs far beyond the realm of agriculture. If we could merely determine how many laborers are needed in agriculture, and then find means of shifting those not needed or those unsuited to this kind of work into other industries, the problem would be greatly simplified. Unfortunately, however, this same problem exists in nearly every industry in the country, and it will have to be met by something in the nature of a nationally planned program for re-absorbing surplus workers in the various industries of the country. Numerous factors have contributed to this difficulty, not the least of them being the various types of restriction on absorption of labor in given lines of work, and what seems to me an undue preoccupation on the part of labor organizations with high wage rates at the expense of fuller employment and larger production. In so far as lack of employment and low incomes are due to numbers of workers in excess of those needed in agriculture, the problem is one for the state and the nation rather than for the farm groups alone. There has been too much tendency to condemn the farm groups because they could not absorb unlimited numbers of new workers coming into the industry. It would be just as logical to condemn the automobile industry, the steel industry, the textile industry, or any other for not absorbing all surplus workers displaced from other areas or other industries.

What lines of attack, then, would seem to offer any promise of betterment of the situation? (Please note that I state the matter mildly in terms of betterment, not of cure. I do not believe there is any panacea which will remove with a few swift strokes all these difficulties.) First, it would seem to me, that the farmers of each type-of-farming area or region in the state might well study seriously and continuously, with the aid of the farm management specialists of the college, the possibilities of adjusting their agriculture to a basis which will provide a somewhat more uniform labor load. Some of the policies now being carried along by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration look in this direction. It is probable that we are moving toward a more settled and a better balanced kind of agriculture in the state. This implies more of soil conserving and soil building crops, more livestock and somewhat less concentration on the highly specialized cash crops. A few of the larger operators have been thinking along these lines for a number of years and endeavoring to work in that direction. Some areas are better suited to this procedure than others. Where the dominant type of agriculture consists of small units, such an approach probably must come through study of an area as a whole, rather than the individual farm. I am very doubtful that the type of diversification which has been advocated and more or less developed in the Middle West can be applied to the agriculture of California. It does seem, however, that there is room for marked improvement along these lines which will be in the interest both of more stable labor conditions and of a more

permanent and stable type of agriculture. If the federal government's program of subsidies for better agricultural practice is wisely designed, it may contribute materially to offsetting some of the losses to growers in shifting from more highly specialized, highly commercialized types of farming.

Implied in this approach is also another one, which, it seems to me, has had too little consideration in the agriculture of most areas of California, namely, an attempt to stabilize residence and provide continuous employment for at least that portion of the agricultural labor group which can be used in that locality for a major part of the year. Communistic views and radical policies are a logical outgrowth wherever we have large numbers of people who have no continuing stake in the success and prosperity of the industry with which they are connected. Efforts looking to safeguarding and improving the kind of society which most of us have grown up with will be furthered by every procedure which tends to give a larger portion of the people a personal incentive to see these traditional institutions maintained and strengthened.

A second line of approach would seem to me to lie in special consideration of means for meeting the most extreme peak demands without having to maintain so large a number of casual workers, which will constitute a problem during other periods of the year. In this connection I have wondered whether the possibility of mobilizing the labor resources of these communities has been as fully explored as might be desirable. In some areas where peak demands are of very short duration and do not require highly skilled labor, there has been some little use of labor groups which might not desire or need employment in other parts of the year; for example, high school and college help, and members of city families who do not desire or plan to work throughout the year. So far as I know, comparatively little study has been made of the extent of these resources or of the methods by which they can be brought into the situation in a way that will be satisfying both to employer and employee. This may involve study of possible adjustments in the timing of the school year. It calls for more study of the conditions and safeguards which must be thrown around this type of labor, if such a program is to have the sympathetic co-operation of all concerned. It means, of course, sanitary and wholesome camping facilities. If boys and girls are to participate, it means setting up adequate supervision and separation of the sexes, so that parents will have confidence that the environment is a wholesome one for their children. It would seem to me that this possibility might well be made the subject of a major study by farm groups and professional investigators. Certainly it is not a cure-all, and its possibilities are limited both by the availability of such personnel and by their suitability for given kinds of work. I am aware also that certain groups will look on this as an effort to take away from mature workers jobs to which they feel entitled, and it may even be open to the charge of exploitation of child labor. Any provisions of this kind, if they are to be lasting, must give serious and effective consideration to problems of that type. As for myself, I do not feel that a moderate amount of such work under suitable conditions is unwholesome or undesirable for young people, provided age limits are not dropped too low and provided it does not create a means of exploiting

them. It is thoroughly in line with the best traditions of American agriculture.

A third line of approach implied by the two already mentioned is that of finding means to withdraw from the agricultural labor market such numbers of workers as are not really needed at any time of the year, or are unsuited to this kind of work. Here we have unquestionably one of the toughest assignments in the whole situation. Withdrawal under any system we like to conceive of in America implies finding something else which will have enough attraction for these workers to draw them into it. Space will not permit extensive exploration of this line of thinking. The national government has been giving it some little study, thus far without very encouraging results. Among other things, it certainly calls for a stronger development of employment agency activities and a better classification of employees with respect to their qualifications and desires. Some progress along these lines may be possible as a result of the important and far-reaching developments in the social security program and the continuous record maintained for nonagricultural workers in the Unemployment Reserves Commission. The work in this field has not progressed far enough as yet to make significant studies possible on the basis of data thus accumulated. In the course of two or three years it may be possible to obtain much more pertinent information through this source.

A fourth line of approach seems also to have had insufficient consideration and study. That is the possibility of better co-ordination of seasonal work in agriculture with that in other industries. I have just indicated serious need for agriculture to consider possibilities for modifying the timing of its labor demand. This same need is apparent with respect to other industries. There has been for many years a certain amount of co-ordination along these lines—in such lines as the salmon canning industry, in some phases of railroad right-of-way work, in certain aspects of the forest industries. I doubt that anyone knows what possibilities and limitations exist in this connection. The interchange between industries, in so far as it has existed, has been extremely haphazard and planless. Such a program has very limited possibilities, except as responsible groups in the various industries concerned can work together in a carefully co-ordinated program for co-operative stabilization of labor conditions, especially for the more mobile low income groups.

Such a program clearly implies an approach based on logic and facts rather than emotional reactions. It certainly implies a number of very difficult and comprehensive investigations. It cannot by its very nature be a short-time program, and unless undertaken seriously with a view to carrying on aggressively over a considerable period of years, it has relatively little possibility of affecting the conditions favorably.

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INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION ON LABOR PROBLEMS IN AGRICULTURE
THE FIRST MEETING OF THE PERMANENT AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION¹

Sociologists and economists will, I feel, be interested in a brief account of the first meeting of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Organization, which was held at Geneva, Switzerland, February 7-15, 1938. Although the I L O has been functioning since 1919, and has made noteworthy progress in dealing with problems of industrial workers, no permanent committee on agricultural labor was set up until May, 1936. This does not mean that no attention previously had been given to agriculture, however. As early as 1920 the Governing Body concerned itself with the problem of child labor in agriculture. The organization of the Permanent Agricultural Committee will doubtless assure more comprehensive treatment of the multitude of problems surrounding agricultural labor throughout the world.

The Committee consists of 42 members, which may vary from time to time as the Governing Body may decide. They were drawn from 24 nations including all of the agricultural countries except Russia, Italy, and Germany. The latter two countries withdrew from the I L O when they withdrew from the League. Japan, on the other hand, continues its affiliation with the I L O and had a representative on the Committee. The Committee is composed of three general elements: representatives of employee organizations, representatives of employer organizations, and so called experts. The latter group are drawn from nominees submitted from different countries and from other international bodies, such as the International Institute of Agriculture which furnished six members. Among these six was Mr. J. Clyde Marquis, the U. S. permanent delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture. The writer was the other American on the Committee.

The agenda provided the Committee by the Governing Body was as follows:

- 1 The problems of agricultural labor in the various countries and their relative importance
- 2 Child labor in agriculture
- 3 Holidays with pay
- 4 Hours of work in agriculture

The first item left the field open for presentation of problems covering a wide scope, the most significant upshot of which was the introduction of the idea that the I L O should concern itself not merely with the problems of wage paid labor in agriculture—important and compelling as they are—but also with the conditions of the small husbandman, whether owner or tenant. The problem of wage paid labor in agriculture cannot be fully and adequately treated without also giving consideration to the problem of the small farmer, whether tenant or operator, and the more general problems of agriculture which determine its profitability, and hence the ability to pay wages and establish improved working conditions.

¹ Paper No. 375 of the *Miscellaneous Journal Series*. Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station.

The members of the Committee were all agreed that the standard of living of the entire agricultural population, wage-laborer tenant and owner ought, in the interest of the general welfare of nations, to be raised to higher levels. Attention was drawn by several speakers to the fact that a relatively small portion of those gainfully employed in agriculture were wage-laborers, and that oftentimes, as in the case of the small peasant farmers of Asia and Europe, and many tenants, croppers, and small farmers in the United States, the standard of living of millions of such farmers was deplorably low.

The International Labor Organization estimated that of the 865,000,000 "gainfully employed" persons on the earth, 550,000,000 or more than 60 per cent were engaged in agriculture. The problems of wage-workers are great and unusually acute in certain sections of the earth, but in total numbers they are a small percentage of those "gainfully employed" in agriculture. It was agreed therefore that serious study should be given to the plight of other disadvantaged classes in agriculture as well as the wage-workers.

This raised the question of the "competence," in the legal sense, of the I.L.O. to deal with the larger aspects of the agricultural problem, a question of special interest to the International Institute of Agriculture. It was agreed, however, that the Committee could lay the problem in the large before the Governing Body, and, through the mixed Committee of I.L.O. and the Institute, decide which aspects of the problem each should handle.

Under the general freedom allowed by the first item, I took occasion to stress the question of mechanization. Because it constitutes a threat to the social and economic security of thousands of farm people, the mechanization of agricultural operations should be carefully studied and observed in various countries, with a view to cushioning its impact upon the workers in agriculture.

So far as the United States is concerned, it was pointed out that mechanization of early season operations in cotton by means of pneumatic-tired tractors and four-row cultivators, and by cross-row plowing and check-row planting, is creating an agricultural industrial revolution in certain areas of the South, while the introduction of corn-picking and sugar-beet harvesting machinery in the North and West is displacing thousands of hand workers, who previously made their living in agriculture.

In the South, it is said that the introduction of a tractor displaces three tenant or laborer families. There seems to be no immediate answer to the question: "Where are these families to go?" Naturally bewildered by the sudden uprooting, these people do not know where they might find a new life for themselves. Some drift into small towns, villages, or cities near by, where they are destined to be applicants for relief, unless industry can absorb them, and the prospect is not alluring. Others are joining the great caravan to the West Coast, where opportunities are as likely to be no better than at home, and probably not as good.

In European countries where agriculture is expanding under the pressure of national defense policies, mechanization is going on, but apparently with less shock to the manual workers because of the extraordinary demand for labor.

With agriculture in a process of restriction rather than expansion, the exporting countries such as the United States and Canada, are less able to adjust the social mechanism to the technological advance. With already a surplus farm population, students of contemporary rural society see no escape from serious social consequences arising from the steady march of mechanization.

What is to be done? There is no answer at present. It is little short of heresy to suggest the limitation of mechanization by authoritarian methods, because Americans have identified mechanical efficiency with "progress," and, of course, nobody wants to stop "progress." Some farmers give as their reason for displacing man power with machinery, their aversion to dealing with agricultural labor unions. In France, the calling of a strike during the harvest season last year is said to have given further impulse to the rate of mechanization. Is organized agricultural labor incompatible with American farm life? Or can desirable relations between employers and farm laborers be established soon so that this factor will not accelerate mechanization? From the standpoint of the entrepreneur, is it not possible that any economic gains accruing from mechanization may be offset by increased taxation, to take care of the human derelicts caused by that mechanization? What the Committee of the International Labor Office wants is a careful study of mechanization in agriculture from the standpoint primarily of the welfare of the human beings concerned, rather than from the usual standpoint of technological and economic efficiency in production.

On the question of child labor in agriculture the committee did nothing more than request continuing study of the situation, particularly in the twenty nations which ratified the draft convention of 1920. This convention would prohibit the employment for wages in agriculture all children 14 years of age or under.

The limitation of hours of work in agriculture was discussed by the Committee at considerable length, and was approved in principle by that body. The committee was convinced that farm workers should enjoy the benefits of more reasonable hours of work. I took occasion to add the thought that these benefits should be shared not only by wage earners in agriculture, but also by the operator and his family. It was pointed out that an unreasonably long work day for the farm operator worked an unusual hardship upon the farm housewife, whose work cannot be finished until after the farm work and the chores are over, and the family fed.

There are certain obvious difficulties in the way of achieving a shorter work-day or work-week in agriculture, and, while the Committee was of the opinion that these obstacles could be largely overcome, it asked that further study be given the problem with a view to providing information upon which it could make some positive recommendation at its next meeting.

Among the difficulties in the way of limiting hours of work, from the farmers' standpoint, is the fact that certain tasks on the farm are characterized by an urgency which would make a work day of set length impossible. When the grain is ripe it must be harvested; or if a frost threatens, an eight-hour day must not interfere with saving as much of the crop as possible. To this objection the workers' representatives at Geneva suggested that they would be perfectly willing

to meet any emergency of this kind by working as long as necessary, provided they could be compensated by proportionately shorter days in the slack season.

Moreover, there is the question of being able to meet the increased cost of a shorter day, without lowering wages. Workers and all agreed that the shortening of hours could not be achieved independent of consideration of the profitability of the agricultural industry. The ability of the industry to meet whatever increased cost might result from the proposed reform was admittedly a crucial factor.

From the standpoint of the laborer, especially if he is employed only on a seasonal basis, the limitation of hours of work is purely an academic rather than a practical matter. Frequently working on a piece-work basis, he is under the necessity of working long hours himself, and compelling his wife and children to do likewise in order to get the largest income possible in the short employment period.

It is obvious also, that so far as the farm operator and his family is concerned, that careful planning and perhaps a good deal of education will need to be carried on before the work day can be reduced to rational limits. The folkways and tradition in America at present favor a long day during the summer season. Undoubtedly, careful planning of work could result in a day of reasonable length for all farm workers, including the housewife.

There was also a considerable discussion of wage-fixing machinery in agriculture. Such machinery is already in operation in several countries, and the United States is undertaking its first venture this year under the Sugar Act of 1937. A resolution was passed requesting the Governing Body to consider the advisability of putting the question on the agenda of one of the next International Labor Conferences. (The Conference consists of representatives of all the affiliated countries and is the legislative body of I.L.O.)

While the Committee held its first meeting under the shadow of menacing clouds of international political discord, one could not but be impressed by the facility with which such a committee, despite diverse tongues and social backgrounds, could conduct its deliberations and find common agreement. The difficulties of international deliberation are no greater than those associated with intra-national committees. Having so recently served on the President's Commission on Farm Tenancy, I was in a position to make comparisons.

In spite of the international political chaos, there was evident in this committee a truly optimistic attitude favorable to international co-operation. Here it would appear, is a legitimate field for international action. Certainly there is no nation of the earth which does not wish to see the progressive betterment of the standard of living of its people. Regardless of its political differences with other nations or groups of nations, a country might be persuaded to collaborate with others on social and economic problems which have a minimum of political significance.

Obviously, too, one nation cannot undertake to raise the standard of living of its working population without running the risk of endangering the ability of its industries to compete in the world market with nations which exploit men,

women, and children in order to achieve and maintain a favorable competitive position. Therefore, international collaboration is the common sense approach to the whole matter of social improvement.

The achievements of the International Labor Organization with respect to industrial labor throughout the world are very significant and far-reaching. It has brought about reforms in working conditions of men, women, and children employed in industry. Through the co-operation of wage-workers, employers and the various governments, it is hoped that needed reforms in the field of agriculture may likewise be secured. The Committee was satisfied that the time had come to give serious international consideration to the problem of raising the standard of living of the agricultural population, wage-laborer and farm operator alike, throughout the entire world.

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LOWRY NELSON

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis

LAND TENURE AND UTILIZATION

The psychological, sociological, and economic bases for the class structures in rural farm society in the Cotton and Corn Belts are revealed by a field investigation involving 2,400 families.¹ The primary emphasis is placed upon the attitudes and opinions of the different tenure and race segments of the two areas. For the first time the minds of people belonging to different strata in the rural farm society have been probed on an extensive enough basis to determine the structure and rigidity of the American rural farm social and economic hierarchy. The study throws light on psychological factors which must be considered in any attempt to alter land tenure. Although most stress is placed upon the attitude and opinions of farmers towards the land tenure of their own and other tenure classes in rural farm society, as well as other attitudes and opinions, the difference in the social and economic behavior and possessions of the tenure classes is also portrayed.

The interrelations of the families in the different tenure classes and the extent to which tenure class distinctions preclude visiting, taking meals together, and exchanging tools and labor, as well as intermarriage, are treated. The group life within the tenure and racial classes, including participation in formal and institutional, as well as in informal recreational and other activities, is treated. The level of living of the classes in terms of possessions and equity and the standards of living in terms of desired possessions are appraised. Also, the relative mobility of these classes is depicted. Comparisons are made among the tenure race and regional groups with respect to age at marriage, age at which children leave home, size of family, and other factors.

The study proves that not only in terms of the possession of certain goods, and participation in ". . . certain types of formally and informally organized social life, but in prestige held, and in social and economic ideologies expressed, . . ." the families in the various tenure classes differ. In the South tenure classes are different from those in the North. There is evidence to show that the social status of Southern white tenants is lower than that of Southern white owners. Within each race in either North or South owners have the highest status, but it is suggested that tenure differences among Negroes in the South are similar in type but less pronounced than among Southern white farmers. In all regional or race groups a blood tie between the owner family and families lower in social

¹ E. A. Schuler, "Social Status and Farm Tenure—Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers," *Social Research Report No. IV*, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, April, 1938.

status tends to make tenure differences much less pronounced, and restrictions on interrelation between the classes much less rigid.

More than half of the Southern owner and tenant farmers, both Negro and white, say they would rather have their sons choose occupations other than farming. Most Northern farmers would leave it up to the son. The majority of all farmers who desire that their sons be farmers want them to be owners. The majority of nonowners themselves think they would be better off if they were owners; the Southern farmers believe likewise, even if this entailed a farm mortgage. Northern farmers are not so frequently certain that ownership is always a blessing.

Approximately three-fourths of the farmers thought the government should do something to check the increase of farm tenancy. Tenants held this view more frequently than owners; and Southern more frequently than Northern farmers. Among all nonowners who are not related to their landlords, only in the case of Northern tenants did the majority think they had anything but a "poor" chance of becoming land owners in the next five years. Prospects were most frequently reported as "poor" in the following order: Negro unrelated nonowners, 64.6 per cent; Southern white unrelated nonowners, 62.1 per cent; Northern unrelated nonowners, 50.0 per cent. For these same groups the percentages of farmers who thought their prospects "fair" were 22, 24.3, 3.17, respectively; those who thought their prospects "good," 12.6, 9.2, and 13.8, respectively.

Whereas 50 years ago tenants operated one-fourth of the farms in Missouri, today they operate two-fifths of them. Inasmuch as the tenure conditions of the state, like the types of farming, are diverse, specifications for adjustment which are universally applicable are difficult to lay down. However, in the interest of good landlord-tenant relationships, all leases should be in writing; owners should be required by law to give tenants six and croppers three months' notice before termination of tenancy; tenants should be compensated for unexhausted improvements made by them previous to releasing a holding; and tenants should know that under law they are liable for treble the damage caused by misuse. In addition, minimum standards of housing and sanitary conditions for tenants should be established and enforced. These and other regulations are recommended in a state experiment station bulletin.²

The method of acquiring farm property by payment in kind and a comparison of methods of renting land, with instructions concerning the drawing up of leases, are included in two other Missouri experiment station bulletins.³

The types of rental contracts, the growth of farm tenancy, and the length of

² John H. Dickerson, "Proposed Adjustments in the Farm Tenancy System in Missouri," *Research Bulletin* 270, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Missouri, and United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, co-operating, Columbia, December, 1937 (pp. 63).

³ O. R. Johnson, "Acquiring Farm Ownership by Payments in Kind," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* No. 378, Columbia, January, 1937 (pp. 12), and "The Farm Tenant and His Renting Problems," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* No. 315, Columbia, July, 1932 (pp. 34).

time the various tenure groups had operated their present farms are briefly presented in a North Dakota experiment station bulletin.⁴

Causes and solutions for the problem of rural poverty in the mountain region of eastern and southern Kentucky have been indicated.⁵ The land of two contiguous magisterial districts is classified on the basis of topography, soil, and condition of the buildings. The gross receipts from crops and livestock for 176 farms which averaged 63.5 acres in size were \$58 per family; the value of living furnished averaged \$147. The income available for spending averaged \$68; the average family, 5.5 persons. Corn constituted 68 per cent of the acreage of all land in harvested crops. Two-thirds of the corn is grown on hillsides having slopes ranging from 10 to 40 degrees or more. The entire crop of one man is often limited to three to five acres.

A study of a typical cropping cycle of 24 years on 28 hillside fields indicated only an average of eight crops, five after the first clearing and three after the second clearing. Such a system tells a tale of wrecked soil and impoverishment of the rapidly increasing population. The larger the amount of bottom or level land a family cultivates, the higher the level of living and the lower the relief rates. The nearby better land areas which were studied were for the most part less densely populated but already had surplus farm populations.

Resettlement to other areas is not practical. The people, most of whom wish to remain, should be assisted in making the most of their present environment. Lands which should be reforested should be ultimately evacuated upon the death of the older people. In case of relocation the new residences should be as near the old home as possible. Since the people living on the slopes are incapable of succeeding at commercialized agriculture, they must, if relocated, supplement their incomes from other than agricultural sources.

"A Door of Opportunity"⁶ has been opened for victims of the vigilantes fighting the Tenant Farmers' Union and "sharecroppers who grow the cotton that clothes the world and the poorest clad people in America and the dwellers of these rural slums." After describing this door and depicting "the Revolt of the Sharecroppers" and the accompanying circumstances, the authors of this publication request funds for their enterprise, which is The Delta Co-operative Farm at Hillhouse, Mississippi, a rural resettlement project.

POPULATION

"The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes," is an analysis based primarily upon Federal census reports supplemented by other data and

⁴ Cap E. Miller and Willard O. Brown, "Farm Tenancy and Rental Contracts in North Dakota," North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 289*, Fargo, November, 1937 (pp. 26).

⁵ W. D. Nicholls, John H. Bondurant, and Z. L. Galloway, "Family Incomes and Land Utilization in Knox County," Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 375*, Lexington, November, 1937 (pp. 219).

⁶ Sherwood Eddy, *A Door of Opportunity, An American Adventure in Co-operation with Sharecroppers* (pp. 62).

first hand knowledge of the state.⁷ Chief emphasis is placed upon analysis of race and nativity, residence, including rural, urban, rural nonfarm, village, and nonvillage rural nonfarm, age, sex, marital conditions, illiteracy, and occupation. The characteristics of the population of Louisiana are compared with those of the Nation and 11 other Southern States for the census years 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930. Also intrastate comparisons are made which delineate regional areas based upon statistics for parishes. Among the findings and implications reported are the following:

1. Nearly one half of the native white population of Louisiana is of French ancestry and culture of the Creole and Acadian variety, in addition French Huguenots are represented in the remainder of the white population. Negroes of French or Anglo Saxon cultural heritage or both make up more than one third of the state's population. Only Mississippi and South Carolina surpass Louisiana in the proportion of the population which is colored.

2. That portion of Louisiana's population which is illiterate (13.5 per cent in 1930) is large, being exceeded only by South Carolina. The illiterates are concentrated to a considerable extent in the remote settlements in the swamps and furthestmost bayous of the French section.

3. Even though the state is predominantly rural, the females in the Louisiana population outnumber the males because over half of the migrants to other areas are males.

4. The average age of the population is increasing. The proportion of persons in the dependent ages is increasing, that of persons in the productive ages decreasing.

5. Louisiana and the rest of the South have furnished and will continue to furnish relatively more than their share of the future population of the United States. Furthermore, it was the impoverished communities of the South to which was left the support and education of the Negroes freed by the Nation at the time of the Civil War. Therefore, it is not only to the Nation's interest, but also its obligation, to consider the rural as well as the urban inhabitants in programs of federal assistance, relief, and social security.

The bulletin is well illustrated by charts and graphs.

Analysis of records from field interviews with 12,088 open country and village families in six South Dakota counties depicts the population mobility from 1928 to 1935.⁸ Almost three fourths of the families had maintained the same residence and two thirds of the heads of households had retained the same occupation over the six year period. Those families which changed their residences moved only short distances. Eighty per cent moved only within the state, 45 per cent only

⁷ T. Lynn Smith, *The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes*, Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 293*, Baton Rouge, November, 1937, (pp. 99).

⁸ W. F. Killien, Robert L. McNamara, and Zetta E. Bankert, *Rural Population Mobility in South Dakota, 1928-1935*, South Dakota State College co-operating with the Works Progress Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Bulletin No. 315*, Brookings, January, 1938 (pp. 34 and 27).

within the county of survey, and another 21 per cent came from adjoining counties.

Families on relief changed their residences and occupations more frequently, but moved shorter distances than nonrelief families. Whereas 50 per cent of the children away from home in 1929 were in the open country, 45 per cent of those who left home between 1929 and 1935 were in the open country.

The National Resources Board has published data containing statistical material prepared for the Board's Study of Population Problems.⁹ Special studies include an analysis of underestimation in the 1920 census of population; estimation of value productivity of agricultural workers by states; the relation of distance of residence from cities to rural fertility; and the relation of monthly rent, marriage, and employment of women to population fertility. With influence of type of soil and proportion of Negroes in the population eliminated, the relationship between (1) distance of residence to city, and (2) fertility, is highly significant for cities in five areas, significant in four areas, and not significant in seven areas. In the study of eight census-tract cities the statement is made that "if the ratio of children to women were not known for the tracts it could be calculated with a fairly high degree of accuracy from facts on average monthly rental and proportion of women married or employed."

Volume one "National Data," includes estimates of the future population of the United States; ratios of children to women by size of communities, by divisions, and states, 1910, 1920, and 1930; ratios of children to women by counties; data on economic status of farm population by regions and by states, estimates of migration to and from farms, 1930-1935, and socioeconomic distribution of gainful workers in each state, classified by sex, race, and nativity, 1930. Volume Two, "State Data," includes corrected birth tables by states, 1918-1921, and 1929-1931, and life tables for white population by states, 1929-1931. Volume Three, "Urban Data," gives statistics for urban population changes and the growth of metropolitan regions.

"The probability that the rural areas will be the reservoirs of the future population makes the improvement of rural education a national necessity," is one of the conclusions of an analysis of "Population Trends and Their Educational Implications."¹⁰ Among the significant population trends emphasized in the report are the following: (1) rural farm areas are providing more than their share of births, "thus replenishing the urban population which is not replacing itself"; (2) population growth is slowing down; (3) the average age of the population is becoming steadily greater; and (4) there is a significant trend resulting in relatively more persons entering the mechanical, managerial, professional, and service occupations.

⁹ *Population Statistics* (1. National Data; 2. State Data; 3. Urban Data), National Resources Committee, Washington, October, 1937 (pp. 107, 67, and 52).

¹⁰ National Education Association, "Population Trends and their Educational Implications," *Research Bulletin Vol. XVI, No. 1*, Washington, January, 1938 (pp. 59).

RURAL DEPENDENCY

According to a report of the Works Progress Administration,¹¹ there were approximately 625,000 youths in rural relief families in October, 1935, when agriculture was well on the way to recovery. If to this number are added the rural youths who were being directly assisted through the Civilian Conservation Corps, and those in families being helped by the Works Progress Administration and the Resettlement Administration, the total youths in families receiving public assistance would include approximately 10 per cent of all rural youths in the United States.

The intensity of relief among rural youth varied widely from state to state. With few exceptions, states having a large proportion of their total youth in the rural-nonfarm group, and those in the drought area or having extensive areas of submarginal land, had high relief rates in their youth population. However, the proportion which youth formed of the rural relief population in the sample in October, 1935, was below that which youth formed of the total rural population in the United States, indicating that rural youth as a whole was under-represented on relief.

The survey indicates that the plight of youth in the low-income strata of rural society is largely the result of long-time trends in agriculture, including depletion of soil, overcrowding of the land, and in some sections the practicing of a system of farming not adapted to the areas. The revival of industrial activity in cities will have little direct effect on conditions in submarginal land areas.

Agriculture was employing more rural relief youths in 1935 than any other occupation. Also, agriculture was the usual occupation for more youths than any other occupation, but the experience was usually limited to farm labor. Outside of agriculture the most common usual occupation was unskilled labor.

Of the young men who were out of school, 45 per cent were classed as employed. This percentage did not vary greatly by age groups, but more than twice as many of those in the open country as in the villages were employed. Employment in the open country was primarily at farm labor, usually on the home farm, and brought little return. Very few out-of-school young women were employed, the highest proportion being 13 per cent of the 16- and 17-year-olds.

Amelioration of the conditions facing rural youth must come through enhancement of economic opportunities and through improvement in facilities for education. Furthermore, assistance through these two methods should be co-ordinated and carried out on a national scale under a long-range stabilized program. Assistance for rural youth on relief is not enough; prevention of the need for relief is far more important. Young men farming on submarginal or worn-out land are condemned to poverty. The upward trend of farm prices may increase the gross farm income of the Nation, but it must be remembered that youth in low-

¹¹ Bruce L. Melvin, "Rural Youth on Relief," *Research Monograph XI*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, 1937 (pp. 112). The abstract of the findings as here presented was prepared by the publishing agency and subsequently revised and shortened by the editor of this section.

income rural families may not be participating in the benefits of a recovery measured only in terms of total figures.

Since 1932 the increase of expenditures for outdoor relief has been relatively greater in rural and town areas than in urban areas. Since 1910 there has been an upward trend in relief expenditures. Expenditures during depressions merely represent sharp acceleration in this trend. The rate of increase of public relief expenditures, at least in large urban areas, has greatly exceeded that of all government expenditures combined. It has been far greater than the rate of population increase.

The base of governmental responsibility for relief has been progressively extended beyond the local units, first through state and then through federal participation. There have been wide regional and local variations in the relative proportions of public and private relief, but an important share of the burden was borne by public agencies long before the recent depression.

The burden of general relief has been little reduced by increased expenditures for assistance to special classes, such as the aged, the blind, and dependent children. These are some of the findings of a Works Progress Administration report based upon a synthesis of existing statistics and publications.¹²

A "summary report"¹³ of factors related to the financial progress or change in net worth of 859 Rural Rehabilitation clients classified by tenure and whether located in northern and southern Minnesota concludes that "there are wide differences in earnings and the related farm management factors among the farms borrowing. . . ." Great emphasis is placed upon the statement that "The most hopeful prospect of additional income available for household and personal purposes and for debt retirement lies in the possibilities for increased farm earnings." It is suggested that efficiency of management might improve by increasing the size of enterprise either by renting or farming more intensively. "These possibilities include bigger gardens, choice of higher return crops, improved varieties, weed control, more livestock, better livestock, feeding balanced rations, proper care of livestock and many other good management practices." Better utilization of income by reduced household and personal expenses which are already low is thought to be inadvisable. Little attention is given to the factors responsible for managerial differences, except the demonstration of a slight net positive correlation between amount of formal education and earnings. The analysis of household expenses and receipts on the basis of net income groups, type of family, and tenure groups, indicates the use to which such records may be put in family living analyses.

"Rural Poverty, A Study of Human Erosion in Rural Virginia"¹⁴ is a study of

¹² Anne E. Geddes, "Trends in Relief Expenditures, 1910-1935," Works Progress Administration, *Research Monograph X*, Washington (pp. 109).

¹³ W. P. Ranney and G. A. Pond, "Summary Report of the Farm Management Service for Farmer-Borrowers of the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Farm Security Administration, 1936," the University of Minnesota and the United States Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Mimeographed Report No. 94*, University Farm, St. Paul, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 38).

¹⁴ W. E. Garnett and Allen D. Edwards, "Rural Poverty, A Study of Human Erosion in

Virginia's "marginal" or disadvantaged population. Census data supplemented by the analysis of household budgets of rehabilitation clients and study of family strains furnishes the basis for the report which indicates dire consequences of ever increasing "marginal" population.

"A Report of the Social Security Survey in Georgia" reports the findings of the survey and analysis of Emergency Relief rolls from July, 1933, to November, 1935, of County Outdoor Relief rolls in 1935, and the records of County Almshouse in the same month. Attention was focused upon aged persons 65 years old and over, and upon dependent children. Suggestions are made for organization of agencies which administer Public Assistance.¹⁵

FAMILY LIVING

A study¹⁶ of levels of living, farm incomes and expenses of 113 farm families living in a relatively poor agricultural area in Union County, Illinois, in 1934, indicates an average value of family living of \$497, of which \$272 represented cash expenditure. Gross farm receipts were \$549. The value of living is classified in terms of established categories, and a statement of social participation is included. The bases of the analysis were farm records and supplementary sociological schedules.

Comparison of the level of living in 1934 of 250 farm families on poor land with that of 250 families of similar composition on better soil is made.¹⁷ The poor and better soil areas were originally designated by the Land Policy section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for evacuation and reception, respectively.

In each area one-half were white and one-half Negroes. The cash income of both racial groups was greater and the level of living of the white families higher on the better than on the poorer land. However, most criteria indicated that the level of living was lower among the Negroes on the better land area. Size and source of cash income, itemized cash expenditures, analyses of food and diets, clothing expenditures, expenditures for household operation and furnishings, and causes of sickness and death are among factors given consideration. In addition, living-room furnishings are scored, and the work and recreational activities of the male and female family members are described.

A bulletin¹⁸ portraying social and economic conditions in southwest Missouri Rural Virginia," Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station co-operating, *Mimeographed Report No. 5*, Blacksburg, February, 1938 (pp. 28).

¹⁵ Ada M. Barker, "A Report of the Social Security Survey in Georgia," Georgia State Department of Public Welfare and Works Progress Administration of Georgia, *Official Project No. 65-34-3158*, Atlanta (pp. 127).

¹⁶ D. E. Lindstrom and H. C. M. Case, *Farm Incomes and Expenditures and Costs of Family Living in the Lick Creek Area, Southern Illinois, 1934*, University of Illinois Commission and the Federal Works Progress Administration, Urbana, September, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 23).

¹⁷ Dorothy Dickens, "Family Living on Poorer and Better Soil," Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 320*, State College, September, 1937 (pp. 46).

¹⁸ Max R. White, Douglas Ensminger, and Cecil L. Gregory, "Rich Land—Poor People,"

refutes "the American myth that a region of rich agricultural lands will always be populated by healthy, happy, farm people living in security and enjoying the benefits of a rich community life." The characteristics of the area studied are: soils of moderate to high productivity, long growing season and generous rainfall; a caste system, consisting of landowners, white renters, sharecroppers, laborers, and Negroes, in a descending social scale; a high rate of tenancy; a high proportion of native born and large numbers of Negroes; high fertility; a high ratio of males to females; large proportion of normal families; low level of living, with poor housing, malnutrition, high mortality and morbidity rates, and a high rate of illiteracy; lack of social participation.

GENERAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In a study¹⁰ involving the mapping of the 6,671 school districts and the 533 high school communities (attendance areas) in Michigan, it was found that approximately four-fifths of the farm children in the state receive their elementary education in one-room country schools. Those who attend school beyond the eighth grade must do so as nonresident, tuition pupils in village or city schools. All but 57 of the school districts with 12-grade schools are serving areas larger than their own district. In fact, nonresident pupils outnumbered the resident pupils in 43 per cent of the Michigan high schools during the period of 1920-1931.

The authors suggest that in order to put the educational opportunities of farm children somewhat on a par with those of city children, it is advisable that high school districts be so organized that the school district boundary lines coincide with natural community lines.

In 11 rural counties²⁰ in Missouri the farmers bear the brunt of local taxes, rural and farm real and personal property constituting approximately 60 per cent of the total tax base. Counties large in area have expended little or no more for governmental services than small counties. This argues in favor of county consolidation. However, county consolidation would result in little saving in school costs and road expenditures.

The poorer counties in the Ozarks have a small amount of taxable wealth per school child. These counties do not have adequate school facilities. Since they have high birth rates resulting in net migration outward, the state and federal governments have the undeniable responsibility of assisting in the support of their educational agencies. Cities to which the migrants go should help support the rural schools.

The study of rural Missouri governmental costs indicates relationships between expenditures and such factors as total population, assessed wealth, and the like. Factors related to efficiency in governmental expenditures and service as well as

United States Department of Agriculture Farm Security Administration, Region III, *Research Report No. 1*, Indianapolis, Indiana, January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 62).

¹⁰ J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Special Bulletin No. 289*, East Lansing, January, 1938 (pp. 36).

²⁰ Conrad H. Hammar and Glen T. Bartin, "The Farmer and the Cost of Local Rural Government in Missouri," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 385*, Columbia, June, 1937 (pp. 90).

equity are discussed. Three solutions to the problem of the prevalence of tax delinquency and inefficient services in the poorer Ozark counties are (1) resettlement increasing the ratio of taxable resources to the number of persons in the population, (2) shifting the cost of local government to the state, and (3) increasing taxable wealth by reforestation and other means.

According to a bulletin on "Vocational Interests of Rural High School Pupils in Pennsylvania"²¹ rural boys are predominantly interested in vocations which require a major emphasis on physical activity and desire for the most part to become farmers, aviators, engineers, or mechanics. However, pupils of superior intelligence tend to choose the professions; those below average in native ability prefer mechanical vocations. A large proportion of rural-reared girls are interested in nursing and teaching. Less than one-fourth of the boys chose their father's occupation. Thirty-six rural schools in 29 counties co-operated in the study. The interests of the pupils who were freshmen in 1929 were tested at intervals during their four year high school course. The influence of intelligence, other persons, and experiences on choices of occupations as well as persistency of interests were treated.

Without a house-to-house canvass the "natural" communities in three Oregon counties have been mapped and described.²² The specific methods used in determining the community boundaries are not described. The community's boundaries are, however, compared with those of school district, election precinct, and roads. Considerable attention is given to "interstitial" areas outside the boundaries of communities.

A class in educational sociology which surveyed Delaware County, Indiana, reports findings concerning (a) how the people make a living (b) travel and transportation, (c) maintaining health, (d) spending leisure time, (e) government and law enforcement, (f) home life, and (g) religion.²³ Questionnaires distributed to homes through the public schools, interviews with public personages, and representative residents as well as secondary data were used. The lowest return on a questionnaire was 12 for 500 administered.

The introduction of irrigation into an arid region where dry farming is practiced may have favorable economic and social consequences. A Montana experiment station bulletin²⁴ claims that irrigation has not only increased, but has made for stability of crop yields. A larger farm population makes for an increase in farm inventory which means advantages not only to the farmers but other indus-

²¹ C. S. Anderson, "Vocational Interests of Rural High School Pupils in Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania State College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 342*, State College, March, 1937 (pp. 28).

²² Dr. Philip A. Parsons, *A Study of Natural Communities in Three Oregon Counties*, Committee on Public Welfare for the State Planning Board, Works Progress Administration, Salem, May, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 56).

²³ John M. Shales, "The School in Its Social Setting," *Ball State Teachers College Bulletin*, Vol. X^{II}, No. 1, Muncie, Indiana, September, 1937 (pp. 75).

²⁴ P. L. Slagsvold and J. D. Mathews, "Some Economic and Social Aspects of Irrigation in Montana," Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 354*, Bozeman, January, 1938 (pp. 24).

tries and businesses. Denser population as well as increased income enables the farmer under irrigation to have a more satisfactory level of living.

FARM LABOR

'Agricultural Migratory Laborers in the San Joaquin Valley, July and August, 1937' is a summary²⁰ of findings resulting from 407 field interviews, and a general study of ownership, population, type of shelter, available household and hygienic facilities, and disease, in 59 California agricultural labor camps. Also returns from a questionnaire on migratory labor sent to 1,600 farm leaders, 18 per cent of whom replied, and 102 health officers, 37 of whom replied, are tabulated and comments listed. Among the conclusions were the following: (1) Seventy five per cent of the families interviewed came from five states; (2) Median annual earnings for the year ending June 30, 1937, were \$574 for migratory families engaged primarily in California agricultural work; (3) Seventy nine per cent of the families interviewed planned to remain in the state of California, while 16 per cent planned to return to the state of origin; (4) Six per cent of the population in the camps visited was without shelter in the form of tents, trailers, or cabins. Thirty per cent had poor shelter, and twenty per cent had good shelter. The remainder were living in fair surroundings.

MISCELLANEOUS

A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub Areas with Application to Ohio' is presented in a report²¹ in which it is stated that the sociography of the state should distinguish and delimit those areas of social homogeneity which may lead to the determination of true sub regions. The method of establishing subregions assumes no constant relation between such bio physical factors as soil and type of agriculture and social and economic traits. However, it is assumed that general social and economic characteristics are correlated, i.e., that they hang together. On the basis of this latter assumption an attempt is made to select indices which will adequately represent such factors as those of (1) rural population, (2) rural economic conditions, (3) the rural school, and (4) the rural church.

All available indices of social and economic variation (111 factors) on a county basis were assembled and examined. Some of these (28 factors) were discarded because they were 'regarded as unreliable' or because they were the least desirable of two or more indices measuring the same situation. Also overlapping indices were discarded. The remaining 83 factors were called 'First Order Factors' and were classified under the above four headings either in their simple form or as composite indices. By correlation techniques, the factors which were related (indicated by a correlation coefficient of .60) to others under a given

²⁰ *Agricultural Migratory Laborers in the San Joaquin Valley, July and August 1937*, State Relief Administration of California, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 43).

²¹ C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, 'A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub Areas with Application to Ohio, Part I, Text and Maps, Part II, Appendices,' Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station and Farm Security Administration, Region III, co-operating, *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 106*, Columbus, January, 1938 (pp. 34 and 23).

heading, were withdrawn and designated as "Second Order Factors." Intercorrelations among these 32 "Second Order Factors" within their respective groups were computed. In each group those factors having the highest relation to the largest number of factors were designated as "Third Order Factors." The intercorrelations among the 16 "Third Order Factors" lead to the selection of three factors, Gross Cash Income per Farm, Rural Plane of Living Index, and Rural Population Fertility Ratio. These "Fourth Order Factors" were not highly correlated among themselves but were all closely related to the 16 Third Order Coefficients."

Each "Fourth Order Factor" was used as a basis for arraying the counties and grouping them into homogeneous sub-areas. On the basis of the indices the counties were classified according to opportunity of settlement of additional farm population. Such areas had good soil and high levels of living; also they had a stationary population or low rate of natural increase, or suffered from emigration and were not over-populated as evidenced by high acreage per capita, considering the type of farm.

That "the widespread adoption of a successful mechanical cotton picker will be spread over a period of time," and that ". . . the beginning of that period is quite imminent" is the conclusion of a Works Progress Administration report.²⁷ Among the conclusions are the following: (1) "The mechanical picker in its present stage of development is, therefore, not likely to take the Cotton Belt by storm." (2) "Successful one- and two-row machines, if developed, might, in the course of perhaps 10 years, be applied to an upper limit of about half the present cotton acreage and displace a maximum of two million hand pickers for the picking season of about 40 workdays. The displacement of half a million pickers within a period of 5 to 10 years appears more probable, however." (3) The successful mechanical picker would have its international implications. It would encourage increases in cotton acreages in Australia, Brazil, and Argentina.

In addition, the following bulletins have been received:

Marshall Harris, *Compensation as a Means of Improving the Farm Tenancy in Illinois*. Address, Farm and Home Week Program, University of Illinois, Urbana, January 13, 1938. United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (mimeographed, pp. 17).

W. E. Garnett, "Tenancy Trends in Virginia," Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, *Report No. 4*, Blacksburg, April, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 6).

Rupert B. Vance, *Farmers Without Land*, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (pp. 31).

"Taking the College to the Farm and Home, 1936," Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Extension Division, United States Department of Agriculture, co-operating, *Twenty-third Annual Report*, Stillwater (pp. 160).

²⁷ Works Progress Administration, "Mechanical Cotton Picker," National Research Project on Re-employment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Techniques, *Report No. A-2*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August, 1937 (pp. 24).

June Donahue, "Rural Recreation," College of Agriculture of the University of Arkansas, United States Department of Agriculture, co-operating, *Extension Circular 373*, Fayetteville, June, 1936 (pp. 23).

Increased Social Opportunity Through Community Planning, Department of Public Instruction, Education and Recreation Division of Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1936 (pp. 36).

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Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

A New Social Philosophy. By Werner Sombart. Translated and edited by Karl F. Geiser. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1937. Pp. xii, 295. \$3.50.

This treatise is a unique and interesting presentation of the theory that National Socialism in Germany is, on the one hand, a revolt against the "economic age" and its "technique" and, on the other hand, a practical synthesizing of the fundamental elements in German culture into a new social philosophy which is highly integral in its ideology, and in keeping with the fundamental economic, ethnological, and philosophical imperatives of the German people. The author says that German socialism is "nothing else than the turning away from the economic age in its entirety" (p. 41). He characterizes the economic age as utterly materialistic, its values predominating over all others, and as having stamped its impress on all other provinces of society and of culture (p. 3); he speaks of "finance-capitalistic imperialism" and says, ". . . never before has there been a situation in which business men have ruled, either personally or through their organization or its organs" as during the economic age (p. 23). He says that the three chief ideals of the economic age are veneration for bigness, rapid movement, and the ever-new, and that its "comfortism . . . means the deviation of the direction of human life toward amenity-values" which "brings the whole body of people to decay" (p. 34).

In discussing the decline of the old culture within society, which has resulted from the economic age, he says: "Within the last century, without much political noise, an old, well-grooved social structure has been torn down to its foundations and the people who saw their old, comfortable homes disappear were compelled to camp in the open fields or to seek shelter in hastily improvised barracks" (p. 16). He ascribes this destruction to the dissolution of the village association which resulted from agrarian reforms and the development of capitalistic industry and translated "the old settled strata of the population into a mass of fluctuating individuals" (p. 18), and says, "In this process of change man lost his connection with nature" (p. 31), and that "labor itself has lost its charm for men employed in modern big business" (p. 33).

The new social philosophy is an attempt on the part of the German people to work their way out of this situation, and he says frankly that his book does not claim to be scientific but rather political, which however does not mean that it is unscientific (p. 40); that the aim and way of German Socialism is "to lead Germany out of the desert of the Economic Age" (Chapter XII). He describes

socialism as "social normality" (p. 58) and describes normality in terms of the "political community," that is, the state, and says that the question *What is German Socialism?* can be answered only by answering the question *What is German?* or the question *What is the mission and position of Germans "in the divine plan of the world"?* In answering this question, he says that "the Germans are an active, positive, enterprising people," that they are a "masculine, country people," and that they are unique in the peculiar traits of thoroughness, objectivity, self-glorification, and that their folk spirit "comes from the transcendental world, is always the same, firm, unchangeable from the beginning of time to the final day" (p. 140).

The author argues that the new social order must be totalitarian and that the political community, the state, is the vehicle by which it must be ushered in. He says: "The economic world of the peasant and handicraft laborers should be surrounded by legal barriers of the state to protect them from the penetration of the capitalistic spirit" (p. 283), and that the state must have supreme supervision over measures that must be taken in order to "restore the reciprocal effects between culture and technique" (p. 243). Otherwise, the values of culture will be sacrificed to the values of technique, which is exactly what has happened in the economic age, during which technique has been valued for its own purposes rather than being considered as a means to an end.

In his chapter "The Nation" (Chapter XIII), he sets forth in detail the German concept of the state, or the Reich, and says: "Every people in the Reich forms a natural estate. Every estate has its morality" (p. 185). In the chapter entitled "The Community" he refutes the concept that the state is "an umpire who uses the least amount of force that is necessary to keep the different 'groups of interests' within society in the framework of peace and law," and asserts that the state is not a "natural organism but an entire value" (p. 205), that is, it is a community physically and spiritually. He argues that this community is not based upon a "we-consciousness," but is a transcendental state and community arising out of "the longing of isolated man for a reunion with his kind in God" (p. 217).

He asserts that all socialistic movements of our time come to the fore as revolts against the economic age, and that these movements have been of two kinds, Marxian socialism and Catholic socialism, but that German socialism is a third type. The conditions for the development and operation of the new social order, namely, German socialism, are that there must be tranquility, that the notion of progress must be cast aside, and that the very nature of culture is that it is old, rooted, and indigenous. Once these conditions prevail, then the objectives can be attained by purely political forces. He says: "it is obviously established in God's plan of the world that the destiny of mankind is to be realized within the sphere of political associations," and that in such political associations, "humanity is unfolded according to its differences, but in them the individuals are also drawn together in harmonious structures."

American Medicine: Expert Testimony Out of Court. The American Foundation, New York, 1937. Two volumes. Pp. 1,435. \$3.50 the set.

These volumes constitute the report of some 2,100 physicians on the general state of medicine in the United States. Three groups of doctors, of varying age and experience, were asked to write letters upon a number of topics which more or less centered around one question: "Are you inclined to think that any essential change in the present organization of medical care is indicated?" These men ranged all the way from the city specialist to the remote general practitioner. The sample is, of course, limited to those physicians who were most anxious to express their views.

The report is made up of excerpts from these letters, intelligently and lucidly arranged under a long series of topics and according to point of view. The editors have briefly summarized the opinions expressed and have inserted transitory paragraphs. The work is merely a compilation of source materials. No specific conclusions are reached, no interpretations are included to color or exaggerate the weight of the evidence itself, and no recommendations are made.

Perhaps the first importance of this study for sociologists is its successful handling of such a method of investigation. The data are obtained from a "research" group in the unique position of being able to observe individual and family behavior without asking permission to do so. While the presentation is absorbing in its interest, it remains free from bias in so far as this is possible. It is an impartial summing up of all the points of the debate. Of it the committee in charge of the inquiry states:

The effect of this technique is to broaden the base of discussion, remove it from the narrowness of personal conclusion and emotional preference, take it out of the circumscribed field of superficial controversy, of argument by slogans and catch words, and make it possible to arrive at that comprehensive definition of any given situation that should certainly precede attempts to revise it, if any (p. xxvii).

Such a means of collecting and arranging information has proved effective; it is not, of course, adapted to analysis, or to the formation of even hypothetical conclusions.

There can be no doubt that the heterogeneous content of the work, as well as its method, is vitally related to the general field of sociology. It reviews such questions as state medicine and health insurance, and holds numerous implications for the broader problems of social insurance and social control. Its relation to the field of rural sociology is less tangible. The book does not isolate rural medicine in its general picture of the American medical scene, so that no one section is devoted specifically to rural problems, but there are scattered references to transportation difficulties in remote districts, the forces affecting the availability of medical care, the Scotch plan for subsidies to physicians in thinly populated areas, and so on. The chapter entitled "Medical Education" indicates that the tendency of curricula to emphasize specialties has resulted in the training of too few general practitioners who are prepared to supply the rural sections of the country. In dealing with the "Place of the Hospital," mention is made of the

problem of securing hospital facilities in isolated regions. Several letters speak of the difficulties of administering health insurance in the country, and a case where rural hospital insurance was tried is described. There is, however, a paucity of letters of this nature.

If *American Medicine*, because of its method and its content, demands a place in libraries of sociology, it is also already significant for its social effect. The controversy over socialized medicine, hot in the press, the radio, and the pulpit, has been further stimulated by this group of opinions. On the basis of part of the testimony offered, a large group of physicians have seen fit to defy the American Medical Association in their plea, known as "the medical Declaration of Independence," for public funds in aid of a natural health policy. This split in the profession may properly be regarded as *ex post facto* evidence of the penetrating and vital nature of these volumes.

New Jersey College for Women
Rutgers University

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY, JR.

The Share Cropper. By Charlie May Simon. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1937. Pp. 247. \$2.50.

Bill Bradley, son of a share cropper on a plantation, marries Donie Goodwin, the daughter of another share cropper, and brings her to live with his father, mother, and sister in a one-room shack and kitchen lean-to. The two families work the 20-acre cotton field and share equally in the proceeds of production after paying the landlord half of the crop for the use of land, team, and equipment. Good crops bring food and clothing in the fall and winter, and credit in the spring; crop failures bring a meager subsistence of corn meal and molasses, if not near-nakedness and practical starvation.

The ideal of Bill and Donie to make enough money to buy a mule and to become a share tenant, in the face of drought, flood, boll weevil, low prices, and constantly recurring debts, is never realized. Bill's association with a reformer and participation in the tenant union finally lost him his place as a share cropper on the plantation, and to escape the persecution resulting from this "stigma," he sought refuge as a "river rat" in no-man's land on the bank of the river, where he and Donie found freedom to have a garden, a few chickens, and a small clearing for cotton, and where they could dream unmolested of the time when they would have enough money to buy a mule and become a share tenant. If they could see but little hope for themselves, they envisioned the time when their children would have land, schools, and a better social system.

The story, for the most part, is a good description of the humdrum existence and experiences of a family with little opportunity, at the beginning or afterward, to lift themselves above the economic and social status of a plantation cropper. The struggle with the elements and the clashes with the plantation landlord, the public, and the courts, without the ability to adjust themselves in a highly competitive society, are highlights. All of the events described and the difficulties encountered could happen in restricted localities in Arkansas. The

strength of character of the hero and his wife, however, and the recurrence of disasters centering upon one family should be considered exceptional.

The weakness of the story is its lack of interpretation. While the basis is presented, some readers, particularly those who are not familiar with agriculture or with plantation life, will fail to see that the fundamental difficulty is twofold: (1) That the public school system in some rural districts is of such low quality that many young people, even though they may be capable, reach maturity without enough elementary training to understand their environment or enough foresight to take advantage of alternative opportunity; (2) that the size of farm for the cropper class is too small and too inflexible to afford a basis for a satisfactory livelihood or for advancement beyond the cropper status. Although the author might have gone a little further in revealing the fundamental difficulty, she has avoided a common error made by others. Most of the current writings on this subject, although they may lay the same fundamental groundwork as the present treatment, too often reach the conclusion that the employer is to blame rather than the competitive economic system or the lack of educational opportunity. As the fundamentals become better known, *The Share Cropper* will become more generally appreciated by the casual readers who may consider the book lacking in color, by social sentimentalists who think it lacking in vehemence, and by plantation people who will be unimpressed by its realism.

University of Arkansas

C. O. BRANNEN

Human Migration. A Study of International Movements. By Donald R. Taft.
New York: The Ronald Press, 1936. Pp. xxvi, 590. \$4.00

This book deals with international movements of population, with special reference to the sociological aspects of immigration into the United States. It is not a conventional reproduction or summary of facts on the physical transfer of people from country to country, but on the attitudes involved, the motivating factors, the reactions to immigration and emigration, and the social, economic, and political sequelae. Among the subjects to which separate chapters are devoted are: points of view and ethical principles with reference to migration; the influence of nationalism; the effects of migration (economic, pathological and biological, assimilation and cultural contributions); and the development of attitudes and policies. Means of controlling migration by national legislation, bilateral agreement, and multilateral control are discussed at length. Finally, illustrative accounts are given of Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican migration.

The above is by no means a complete summary of the many subjects dealt with but will serve to indicate the content of the book. In the whole it is an account of the advantages and disadvantages of international migration to the country of immigration, to the country of emigration, and to the individual migrant. Whether or not it gives an impression of over-emphasis of the advantages of migration will depend on the preconceptions of the reader. To the reviewer it appears an honest attempt to present both sides of the case, although some of the fancied advantages, such as the one that "the presence of so many foreigners in the

United States makes it somewhat more difficult to fight an unjust war against their home governments" (p. 290) seem a bit far fetched.

The author deserves particular commendation for his attempt to deal with the effects of migration, recognizing the fact that the story of migration does not end with the arrival of the migrant at his destination. Actually, what is probably the most important phase of international movements of population is only beginning when the physical transfer comes to an end. The student of migration will turn with particular interest to the chapters dealing with effects; if he is somewhat disappointed with their contents it will be because of the incompleteness of knowledge on this subject, not because of any inadequacy of treatment. Incidentally, the student of migration should be warned, particularly if he is accustomed to the factual, reportorial type of study, that this volume has a decidedly normative tone, migration being considered from an ethical or humanitarian point of view. The author expressly recommends such a viewpoint, trying to show that it is also "scientific."

A minor point that may be raised is that the definition of international migration as "a voluntary movement of individuals or families from one country to another with the *intention* of *permanent* change of residence" (reviewer's italics) does not seem practicable unless intentions can be known or the word *permanent* is taken in less than an absolute sense. A purely personal objection is to the repeated use of the pronoun *we*.

Harvard University

E. P. HUTCHINSON

Income Received in the Various States, 1929-1935. By John A. Slaughter. New York: National Industrial Conference Board Studies No. 234, 1937. Pp. xv, 167. \$3.50.

This compact and well-written volume is intended to give a concise and comparative picture of the incomes received by individuals in the 48 states and the District of Columbia during the years 1929 to 1935, as well as to offer a "comprehensive and detailed breakdown of income" in these various areas, indicating the absolute and relative importance of the major types and origins of income.

Mr. Slaughter contends that income estimates for the nation as a whole have serious shortcomings and must be supplemented by other and more detailed estimates, indicative of the differentiations present in the scattered and heterogeneous income-earning population in the extensive area of this country. The theory and practice of the socio-economic region-studies and region-planning tell us that, in dealing with a problem complicated by a multiplicity of heterogeneous factors, the first step is to isolate these factors so as to determine the areas in which they function, and on this basis to arrive at specific regions. The supplementary estimates so obtained for these regions would be truly representative of the heterogeneity present in the larger (national) area, and would permit one to co-ordinate the two sets of estimates' (i.e., national and local) for any purpose in which such co-ordination is desired, and to employ the regional data for the solution of purely regional problems.

Mr. Slaughter has taken, however, the 49 political units that comprise the United States, and since the factors which are responsible for the regional and local differentiations do not coincide in their areas of manifestation with the geographic boundaries of these governmental units, Mr. Slaughter's estimates and his carefully executed investigation appear to be limited largely to political-administrative uses.

It is quite true that the statistics needed for regional differentiation are not directly available and when obtainable require much arduous working-over. However, the way to do that has been pointed out already by Brunner and Kolb in their *Rural Social Trends*, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Slaughter preferred to follow in the footsteps of Maurice Leven and others in taking a state for his unit. Mr. Slaughter's study is a definite advance over former estimates of income where the state is taken as the unit, and is commendable as far as it goes. However, it is very likely that the variations within the states are much more significant than the variations between them, and that a definitive analysis of income differentiation in this country is yet to be carried out.

Teachers College, Columbia University

JOHN W. BOLDYREFF

We Americans—A Study of Cleavage in an American City. By Elin L. Anderson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xii, 286. \$3.00.

While they still consider themselves "a Yankee town," the 25,000 people who composed Burlington's population are two-fifths French Canadian, more than three-fifths Roman Catholic, and 66 per cent composed of "elements foreign to Old Yankee stock." Only a fraction of the "Yankee" remainder consists of fourth generation "Old Americans," but these, together with English, English Canadians, and Germans, present a united Protestant front. The Catholic group in turn consists of French Canadians and Irish. Each religious group is further stratified economically. In the resulting patchwork of group affiliations ethnic cleavages enhance those based on income and type of work, while the religious division, itself enhanced by clear-cut ethnic lines, splits the entire community in half. In these circumstances, can one meaningfully speak of a "community"?

In her praiseworthy effort to answer this question the author has studied the various ways in which one or another type of cleavage has weakened the community's will to action. In efforts to create social centers, youth and recreational organizations, clubs, schools and colleges, and even hospitals, there have repeatedly been two or more answers instead of one. ". . . again and again they find that religious differences do not cease to exist merely because they are denied; and as each enterprise fails there arise out of the sense of that failure new resentments, the Protestant blaming the Catholic, the Catholic blaming the Protestant" (p. 92).

Especially illuminating is the study of the rôle of club life. Social clubs provide for members of each ethnic group havens of relative security, whence all "outsiders" are rigorously excluded. They are essentially "gatherings of people who 'belong,'" the last line of defenses of primary group relationships in a commu-

nity becoming increasingly differentiated and de-personalized. It is not surprising that those groups which are most on the defensive, the Old Americans and the Jews, are the most highly organized with respect to clubs. But this very stabilizing function has an unfortunate consequence in intensifying intracommunity ethnocentrism, thus tending to perpetuate and even to crystallize habit patterns and attitudes of superiority and inferiority to such an extent that the community may find itself incapable of common adaptation to novel circumstances. The general organization of informal social life, for example, is inimical to the promotion of intergroup marriages. With this growing rigidification of community structure in mind the author closes with a warning. It may be, she argues, that the demagogue type who, in a number of countries, has already used racial or religious prejudice as a means to political power (playing one group off against another), might find fertile ground in such "American" communities as Burlington, if the pressure for change becomes too great, and if the community fails to revitalize its democratic institutions.

This excellent book won the John Anisfield Prize of \$1,000, established for the purpose of encouraging the production of good books in the field of racial relationships.

Harvard University

E. Y. HARTSHORNE

Four-H Club Work in the Life of Rural Youth. By Mary Eva Duthie. Chicago: National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work. Pp. 124.

This work tries to find who join 4-H clubs, the place of 4-H club work for rural adolescents, and the effects of 4-H experience upon the members. Basic data were gathered from Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, the counties that showed a high per cent of completions, with most successful club work records. Questionnaires were filled by 235 4-H members; interviews with 203 rural youths and 51 club leaders were recorded; and returns from 2,372 attitude tests, 2,619 intelligence tests, and 2,619 tests reflecting family conditions were obtained from rural school children in these counties. Certain group and individual factors were found important in the selection of members. Thirty-five per cent of the parents of 4-H young people had better than common school education as compared with 28 per cent of the parents of non-4-H young people; parents of 4-H young people had a greater number of organizational affiliations than parents of non-4-H young people; the social-economic status of the families of 4-H members was superior to that of nonmembers, especially in those cases in which 4-H membership had been carried beyond three years; and families of 4-H young people were more thoroughly integrated as social groups than were those of non-4-H. The percentage of boys from tenant farms who were 4-H members was lower than of girls. Boys from owner farms were found in 4-H membership in larger proportions than boys from tenant farms. In contrast, it was found that in two of the counties, girls from tenant farms were 4-H members in greater proportional numbers than girls from owner farms. The reviewer suggests that "tenants," when considered as a group in social participation, should be divided

into "unrelated" and "related tenants." "Related tenants" should be analyzed further to isolate those who are living on land which they expect to inherit. The social behavior of this latter group is much more nearly like the social behavior of owners than of tenants.

Individual analyses of intelligence showed that 4-H mentally represents a fair cross-section of rural boyhood. The greater numbers of 4-H girls were in the normal group. The rural young gave 4-H club work a prominent place in their organizational experience. Four-H boys and girls were more active in the other organizations to which they belong than were the non-4-H boys and girls. Members of 4-H were given a list of statements to be underlined, showing their estimate of the values of 4-H experience. "Learning to work with others" and "making new friends" took first and second places. This suggests the high importance of the "nonproject" aspects of club work. In reply to a question concerning the needs of rural young people, both 4-H members and nonmembers placed social needs above the desire for more money.

The author, as a result of her study, raised several important questions: Why do not certain counties attract a larger proportion of the most intelligent boys and girls? Why are the most intelligent boys not in 4-H in greater proportions? Why is 4-H unattractive to young bright girls and more attractive and positive to older bright girls? Why do not the older boys become more favorable in attitude after their first year of 4-H membership, as the younger boys do? In view of the superior importance of social values derived from 4-H, and since but a small proportion of the time and money spent on 4-H club work is devoted to the social aspects of the program, would not further effort be justified?

University of Arizona

E. D. TETREAU

The Study of Man. By Ralph Linton. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Pp. viii, 503. \$3.00.

Rural sociologists will find in Professor Linton's anthropological monograph a frame of reference offering a helpful orientation to rural life in present-day America. Written in a clear, simple style, devoid of polemics in support of any "school of thought," yet fairly bristling with new hypotheses, this book merits reading as a companion volume to such works as Durkheim's *Division of Labor in Society* and Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Many have suspected that primitive and rural cultures possessed certain characteristics common to both and at the same time revealed other traits that appeared to sharply differentiate them. Dr. Linton provides a workable set of concepts that makes possible a simultaneous analysis of the universal characteristics of all social systems and the unique aspects of each, without unduly overweighting either point of emphasis. This multi-dimensional approach for the handling of cultural complexes is particularly helpful in the light of past attempts to treat such categories of human behavior as social participation, community patterns, and culture areas. Of special significance in these respects are the chapters titled: *The Raw Materials for Society*, *The Distinctive Aspects of Culture*, *Participation in*

Culture, The Family, Social Units Determined by Blood, The Local Group, Society, Social Systems, Status and Rule, The Qualities and Problems of Culture, Diffusion, Integration, Function, Interests, Orientations of Culture, Culture and Personality. Without being mystical about human history in the Spenglerian sense, the author is led to a conclusion that is epitomized in the dedication: "To the Next Civilization." Both those of us who seek to strengthen the existing order and those hoping to modify it will find much to ponder over in the closing chapter. What shall we say to such thoughts as these?

The conquest of society will be the greatest triumph of man's career. Even the conquest of interplanetary space sinks into insignificance beside it. There can be little doubt that it will sometime be achieved, but there is little likelihood that it will be achieved by our civilization. . . . Today our workers in the social sciences stand very much where the Alexandrian Greeks stood in their studies of nature. . . . The signs are plain that this era of freedom is also drawing to a close, and there can be little doubt that the study of culture and society will be the first victim of the new order. . . . Unless all history is at fault, the social scientist will go the way of the Greek philosopher.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN H. USEEM

Dixie After the War. By Myrta Lockett Avery. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. Pp. xxxiii, 419. \$3.00.

Originally published in 1906, long out of print, and now reprinted and touted as a literary forerunner of *Gone with the Wind* and *The Tragic Era* (the popularity of which should tempt any publisher), Mrs. Avery's book will strike the present generation less with its vivid portrayal of familiar facts than with its unconscious revelation of quaint sentiments. The author, a Southern lady of the old school, spent her girlhood in Virginia during reconstruction days; hence she is intimately acquainted, as a native journalist and historian, with the twelve-year period following the fall of Richmond. For her, necessarily, the description cannot be dispassionate. In her eyes the prominent figures of the Confederacy have a heroic dignity and an epic righteousness that lifts to the level of tragedy their subsequent suffering under the conqueror's heel. Her flowery phrases, expressing eloquently the time-honored convictions of a caste, paint the post-war conditions poetically and naïvely in the colors of the aristocratic value scheme. Thus the Yankees are ruthless fanatics, except for an occasional "gentleman" among them. Southern women are all pure, refined, and "distinguished in the social graces." They are the "fair sex," for whom Southern manhood fought, and when their black servants ignominiously leave them, they prove themselves brave and resourceful in learning actually to work. Negroes, once happy on the plantation and well cared for by their owners, become dangerous and outlandish in their ill-starred freedom. Their racial name is spelled with a small "n," while Anglo-Saxon, the superior race which it is "Nature's purpose" always to preserve (p. 243), and the word Simian, used to describe the "negro," are capitalized. Lynching, of course, always occurs for "the crime of crimes." These sentiments,

being no longer functionally operative in an existent society, have an unreal sound. But they themselves are valid history. Indeed it is not so much the scenes which Mrs. Avary depicts that are of interest, as the attitudes she takes toward them. Her work is a touching survival of the departed South.

Pennsylvania State College

KINGSLEY DAVIS

And So Goes Vermont: A Picture Book of Vermont As It Is. Edited by Vrest Orton. New York: Farrar and Rinehart and Weston, Countryman Press, 1937. Pp. . \$2.50.

Unique among recent excellent books on Vermont is Orton's *And So Goes Vermont*. The picture book contains no text other than the captions to the pictures, and a foreword by Charles B. Hogan. It is made up of 200 photographs, taken by Vermonters or those who have lived in Vermont and selected by Mr. Orton to show typical Vermont scenes and people. Hundreds of photographs, beautiful in themselves, were discarded as not illustrating what is "idiomatically Vermont."

As most Vermonters live in the country, the editor has confined his selection of pictures almost entirely to rural scenes. But one realizes that something must be omitted from the never-ending material that one would like to see in the book. Mr. Orton has left the hard-surfaced roads with their constant procession of motors to the casual tourist, and has sought his typical Vermont along the winding dirt roads, and up among the hills. A lover of Vermont might wish that, in contrast to the often difficult conditions of back road farming, Mr. Orton had also shown more pictures of the gracious valley farms, and the important fruitful farms of the Islands.

Many of the pictures show types which are fast passing out of American life. They should be of interest and value to the new generation, most of whom have never seen an ox team or driven behind a horse. Ox teams are perhaps no more typical of present-day Vermont than of the other New England states, but they can be found if one knows where to look, as can the auctioneer, the attic with its treasures, and the village blacksmith's shop, all once a part of the everyday life of our country. The pictures of ice-cutting on Lake Champlain, the harvesting of the Christmas trees at Shrewsbury, the quarry and the Morgan horse farm are pictures of industries distinctly Vermontish. Those of Vermonters at play show how the geography more or less determines the kinds of recreation the Vermonter may enjoy. They also show that communities of busy people can take time for play. The loveliest photographs (Vermont through the four seasons) come at the end.

A picture book always attracts attention, but when it is as this book promises to be, the first of a series of picture books of the forty-eight states, it has especial interest. It is not a guide book but a kaleidoscope of an American state.

Librarian University of Vermont

HELEN B. SHATTUCK

The Irish Countryman. By Conrad M. Arensberg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. 216. \$3.50.

This book is representative of the new anthropology, which attempts to ferret out the actualities of primitive life in the present. It is the behavior of the small familistic farmers of Western Ireland which the author has sought to analyze and explain via the operational approach. These countrymen constitute a sample of family farms everywhere, a fact seemingly unknown to Dr. Arensberg. In Ireland, as in the United States and most of Europe, the big farmers are on the good land, whereas the small farmers and the greatest density of population are found in the regions similar to those which our new Tugwellianism is striving, more or less futilely, to evacuate. Just as our familistic country homes possess their Sunday parlors wherein are kept family albums and Bibles, bottles of Jordan River water, conch shells, and Niagara Falls honeymoon souvenir spoons, so do these Irish farmsteads have their "west" rooms with their religious objects, crucifixes, the best brass, etc. One is reminded of the shrine rooms in Chinese, Japanese, early Roman, and European homes. As in all other traditionally rural cultures the complex of interests, duties, and responsibilities swings on the fulcrum of family and land, and patriarchal dominance and match-making assume significant rôles. Interesting is the fact that these poor country people marry later than any other Irish class, including the urban professionals. Single men and women at 30 are the rule, owing to the reluctance of the old people to renounce their leadership and abdicate in favor of their younger successors. Here we have reflected in west-country Ireland the antecedent condition of the maintenance bond, paricide, and the oriental vows to religious poverty (pilgrimages) of the aged parents.

Although the author has plunged into this Irish familistic culture without placing his countryman in a broader context, and although he has underpresented the purely descriptive side of his subject, the psychological analysis is as superior in insight as in exposition. From their fountain head in the home and the west room, the organizational threads of folk belief extend to the shops, pubs, and fairs of the country town. The significance of fairies, ghosts, and the dead in the behavior of these imaginative folk is well outlined. This is precisely the sort of investigating which Thurman Arnold has done on an institutional level. Having sharpened his scientific scalpels in Ireland we may hope that Dr. Arensberg will go to work in rural United States, remembering however to familiarize himself with country life studies which have gone before, lest he produce disconnected monographs which are only accidentally valuable.

Harvard University

N. J. DEMERATH

We, the Tikopia. By Raymond Firth. New York: American Book Company, 1936. Pp. xxi, 574. \$6.00.

Since Firth sees no difference between anthropology and sociology he subtitles this work "a sociological study of kinship in primitive Polynesia." It reports upon a year's field work on a small island of 1,200 inhabitants on the eastern fringe of the Polynesian world. The traditional detailed description of persons,

incidents, behaviors, and native sentiments is given. The intimate story of the author's participation in local life marks the influence of Malinowski. The community is still so little affected by the outside world that money is valueless. Only about half of the islanders are even nominally Christian. Firth is most concerned with kinship, and his work treats exhaustively its terminology, behavior, and rituals. It demonstrates the functional articulation of native institutions (land tenure, agriculture, chieftainship, initiation, and marriage) to the extensions of the immediate family. On the whole Firth sticks admirably to empirical generalization from the record.

The interest of *We, the Tikopia* for rural sociology lies more in approach than detail. An attentive reader can see that he is attempting to describe a segment of the universal process of the formation of co-operating, neighborly, and blood-related groups. He does this partly by following out the socialization of the individual and partly by sketching the structure of the community, out of the incidents revealing emotionally supported obligations, privileges, and disputes. He develops all this from examples of action between specific persons in specific contexts. In spite of what must seem to many sociologists as an over-simple, unsystematic conceptual scheme, certain conclusions do emerge quite readily.

None of this is new, but it is an important corroborative record. And it demonstrates that conceptual economy is no disadvantage if one is content to generalize specific detail. Dr. Firth's account of the lives of the Tikopia is thus enheartening to those who feel that the way to a social science is through less theory and more work, in the form of devotion to the concrete and the minute. It suggests that a study of a similar small community in Iowa or Mississippi might prove just as fruitful as have the "functional" studies of anthropologists if it dealt with persons, not institutions.

Harvard University

CONRAD M. ARENSBERG

Twenty Thousand Homeless Men: A Study of Unemployed Men in the Chicago Shelters. By Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1935. Pp. vii, 207. \$2.50.

In January, 1934, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission authorized an investigation of the shelters in Chicago populated by thousands of homeless men. The study, completed in the spring of 1935, was financed partly by the Commission, partly by the Social Service Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The book is a survey of that investigation as to method and results. Trained research workers encouraged the inmates to speak freely, and these frank opinions have been copiously quoted by the authors—professors of sociology at Indiana University. They present many causative factors and the successive steps in social disorganization of shelter men, leading ever downward through precarious independence, casual labor very mobile in character, marginal dependency, destitution, and ultimately to shelter relief. Stratification in the shelters is stressed, also the deadening monotony of life there. An excellent chapter devoted to the social process which produces the sheltered type, supplements the sketch previously

given of characteristic occupations, amusements, discomforts, and vices. On the whole the resultant picture is a gloomy one, with decided overtones of defeatism and despair. The brief synopsis of programs aimed at solving the problem of mass unemployment aids materially in acquiring proper historical perspective. There will be general agreement with the authors in their many constructive criticisms of faults which impair the efficiency of prevailing systems of relief, as well as in their insistence on the need of intelligent, prudent experimentation if social adjustment is to be properly achieved. All who are interested in social rehabilitation, unemployment on a large scale, mass relief, and the like, will find much food for thought in the pages of this book.

Boston College

J. C. O'CONNELL, S. J.

The Reorganization and Consolidation of State Administration in Louisiana By
R. L. Carleton and Staff. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,
1937. Pp. 278. \$2.00.

This volume opens with a brief historical statement of the expansion of state administrative activities, particularly since the middle of the nineteenth century. Unreorganized state administrative systems are, in the opinion of the authors, subject to criticism on five counts. These are: first, a lack of coordination and correlation; second, their 'disintegrated functional set up'; third, the high cost of state administrative agencies; fourth, the lack of executive and administrative authority vested in the hands of the governor; and fifth, the failure to establish merit systems for the recruitment, classification, promotion, and retirement of a trained personnel. For the 21 states that up to 1934 have put in more or less sweeping plans of administrative reorganization, seven 'standards' are outlined as frequent features of such reorganizations.

A brief appraisal of results credited to reorganization plans already in effect brings this part of the report to a close. Although much yet remains to be done in most of these 21 states, the authors believe that considerable improvement has been achieved.

The last two thirds of the book consists of a description of the existing administrative set up in Louisiana. In all, 175 state offices, boards, and commissions are analyzed. For each, the constitutional and statutory authorizations and major judicial decisions are cited, by references to the state's legal documents. Then follows a brief description including how the head position or positions are filled, the compensation in such positions when specified by law, and the duties and powers of the unit. No one who reads far in this part, or who studies the accompanying organization chart, can fail to be impressed by the unsystematic, decentralized, and cumbersome set-up here portrayed.

Two carefully worked out plans of reorganization, involving the principles and standards suggested in the opening chapters, and adapted to Louisiana conditions, constitute the final part of the report. One plan involves only statutory changes, the other requires both statutory and constitutional changes to put it into operation. A relatively small number of departments are suggested, and the

existing vast number of unco-ordinated offices, boards, and commissions are grouped within the appropriate departments. The value of the book is increased by the inclusion of a bibliography and an index. Similar studies need to be made in a considerable number of states, where to date but little has yet been done along this line.

University of Maryland

T. B. MANNY

Part-time Farming in the Southeast. By R. H. Allen, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., W. W. Troxell, Harriet L. Herring, and A. D. Edwards. Research Monograph IX, Works Progress Administration. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1937. Pp. xxxviii, 317.

Comparative social and economic data for part-time farmers and for nonfarming industrial workers were collected from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, in the Eastern Cotton Belt. Here farming has been combined with industrial work for some time, and the relief load is about the same as the average for the whole nation. All families who, in 1934, operated at least three-quarters of an acre of tillable land and/or produced farm products valued at \$50 or more, while the head of the household worked at least 50 days off the home farm, were called part-time farmers. Records were secured for 1,113 such households, a less than one per cent sample, and these were compared with 1,334 nonfarming industrial households in the same locality. The chief conclusions suggest that although part-time farming is both economically and socially advantageous, public policy should not be directed toward a wholesale extension, but rather toward the improvement of existing part-time farming. Part-time farmers had (1) a higher real income, although they did not even approach self-sufficiency, (2) no disadvantage in industry, on the basis of an analysis of earnings and employment, (3) sufficient time, energy, and capital for small scale farming, (4) lower housing costs, but fewer modern conveniences, and (5) more participation in social organizations, although fewer organizations were available. These families sought, however unsuccessfully, to maintain their standard of living and to stay off relief.

Any social policy must be in accord with the current social trends and the accepted values. It is a question whether the conclusion that "Workers today are in the process of adjusting their habits to the additional leisure that shorter hours have given them" (p. 77) applies to these families whose average total nonfarm earnings was \$723 (p. 44). Should this surplus time be called leisure time or unemployment? Insofar as any policy is based on values, which are a matter of faith or belief, no social study is useful or necessary, and, if made, is largely in the realm of rationalization. For example, "Results of this survey suggest that any program . . . should have as its first goal the restoration of the individual families to the highest standard of living which they have enjoyed . . ." (p. 78). The questions Where? and How? the part-time farming should be stimulated are both tentatively answered in this monograph.

MacMaster University

LEO A. HAAK

The Village Carpenter. By Walter Rose. New York: The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1937. Pp. xxi, 146. \$2.50.

To those who are interested in preserving and stimulating art in rural life, this little volume will particularly appeal. Written by a master carpenter who is the son and grandson of master carpenters, Mr. Rose interestingly reminisces of village carpentry, as practiced by his family in his native Buckinghamshire, from Victorian times to the present. Although covering many items of concern particularly to the craftsman, such matters are interwoven with observations of personalities and human relationships and unexpected glimpses into English farm and village life, so that the presentation as a whole is very pleasing.

The carpenter's craft in Victorian days, before the wide-spread use of iron, comprised a somewhat wider range of activities than at present. The following chapter headings are indicative: Timber, Tools, Work on Farm, Wooden Pumps, Water Mills, Wind Mills, Undertaking, Furniture Repairs.

After reading the book one feels impressed with the dignity and artistry of the old master carpenter, and is led to be apprehensive lest much of this is being lost in the modern machine age. In a final chapter entitled, "The Outlook," the author points out that the coming of machinery is "by no means an unrelieved calamity," and queries "Why may we not hope that the release from drudgery provided by the machine will not in due time find its reflex in a much higher standard of wood work?" The answer is problematical and lies largely with whether or not the present youth are willing to take the pains to prepare themselves with the necessary skill. In the author's opinion, the loss of training sustained in the discontinuance of apprenticeships, has not yet been adequately provided for in any other way (including the universities) and that in general there has been "a sad misconception as to the amount that has to be learned."

The book is well written, somewhat quaint in places, and throughout conveys to the reader the potential beauty and charm of rural life and the artistry and craftsmanship which inhere in a common village occupation. The attractiveness of the book is greatly enhanced by a series of unusual candid camera photographs and a number of carefully drawn illustrations.

Louisiana State University

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER

Social Psychology, An Introduction to the Study of Personality and the Environment. By James Melvin Reinhardt. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938. Pp. ix, 467. \$3.00.

From page 117 on the author gets down to his sociological theme, that of building a system of social psychology about the relation of the social-cultural environment to personality. The analysis of personality in terms of various environmental-experimental factors built about such concepts as divergent social norms, culture patterns, unity of experience, values, and frustration is unusually fine. Chapters XIII to XV show the importance of occupation to personality and the importance of the loss of work and of frustration to the disorganization of life patterns. The rôle of environmental circumstances in the development of

self-respect and in the maintenance of status are competently presented. On the whole, the work gives an excellent interpretation of the relation of socio-cultural factors and of experience generally, to personality and its disorganization.

The first 176 pages are disappointing because they seem too intent at times on distributing between heredity and environment the responsibility for the development of personality, and there is too much emphasis on the organic-structural aspects of personality and too little on the learning-socializing processes by which human nature is built. Two chapters are given to review of the literature on studies of twins which as presented do not seem to forward the central theme of the book sufficiently to justify the space taken. The author deals with the influence of such organic factors as hunger, diet, the stomach, and the glands on social adjustment. These factors without doubt play a part in personality adjustment, but I suppose are usually not considered to be in the realm of special psychology. Opinions on this point, of course, may legitimately differ.

The materials beyond page 176 are not uniformly good. Chapters VII, VIII, IX, XIII, XIV, and XV are highly important to all interested in personality problems. The book's usefulness as a text as compared to competing works will depend largely upon what one aims to achieve in his course in social psychology.

The State College of Washington

PAUL H. LANDIS

The Influence of Border Troubles on Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1876-1910. By Robert D. Gregg. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. 200. \$2.00.

This Johns Hopkins University study in Historical and Political Science deals with relations between the two countries for the period. The historical method is amply supported by numerous citations to official documents, some secondary sources, and certain new manuscripts resulting in a scholarly piece of work. The volume is divided into four chapters designated as: (1) The Border Problem, (2) The Struggle over Recognition, (3) Border Lawlessness, and (4) Growing Peace and Order. Its chief value to the sociologist is that it shows repeatedly how social and economic conditions affect political policy. The straying of cattle over a boundary line might appear as a trivial matter, but it became nevertheless a subject of national legislation and international concern. Other border troubles such as wrongful use of authority by civil and military officials of one country operating in the other, occasional acts of violence, smuggling, and tariff regulations all tended to complicate the relations between the two countries. However, peaceful means gradually superseded conflicts. "The pressure of American business interests, backed in some cases by the insistence of their government and coupled with Diaz' eagerness to see Mexico develop quickly, led to widespread granting of concessions to American mining and railroad interests" (p. 185). Railroads began to span the border, connecting the two countries, and American capital flowed more and more extensively into Mexico. An attitude of peace and good will prevailed. As newspapers in 1938 report incidents foreboding tension between the two countries, one can only hope that diplomatic relations now will

be as tolerant and successful as they were during the period from 1876 to 1910. We are indebted to the author for making available a careful study of these relations at this opportune time.

Michigan State College

C. R. HOFFER

Studies in Group Behavior. Edited by Grace Longwell Coyle. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. Pp. x, 258. \$2.75.

The content of this book consists of case studies of five organized clubs in the city of Cleveland. Four of the five groups are regarded as "natural" groups of young people. All are represented as typical of the groups encountered by those who develop a social-settlement program in the foreign section of an American city. The first record of 60 pages covers the activities of a group of 12 girls aged 18-20, for a period of three years. It is presented as a study in social interaction. The second record of 65 pages covers the activities of a group of young men aged 20-22. It is presented as a study of youth in adversity. The third illustrates the struggle for power among the would-be leaders of a club of 13-year-old girls. The fourth records the activities of a boy's gang of middle-teen age. The fifth record deals with a woman's club, heterogeneous as to age, nationality, and economic status of its members. It is presented as a study in hilarity and conflict.

These case documents were written by students in the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University. They were all college graduates, but without experience in critically observing and recording group behavior. The case records resemble an organization diary in which the student, who acted as participant observer, describes what happened at each meeting of the club. The editor has interspersed explanatory notes and questions calculated to provoke discussion of the problems of group leadership. In Chapter I, she presents a general discussion of the group leader and his function.

Although the scientific student of group behavior will scarcely find anything of interest in this book, it should prove valuable in beginning classes where group leaders are in training. The descriptions of groups and group situations should provoke discussion and stimulate the class to make similar observations.

Ohio State University

C. E. LIVELY

The Social History of American Agriculture. By Joseph Schafer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. x, 302. \$2.50.

These eight lectures by an eminent American historian, delivered at the University of London, rapidly survey American agricultural history. How the vast public domain came into the possession of the tillers at different periods, the development from primitive subsistence farming to big business farming, how agriculture became a technology, the diffusing of the results of agricultural research, transformations in the social characteristics of farmers and of their rural communities, the successive political rôles of farmers, and a concluding optimistic view of the future—all these topics are briefly but vividly portrayed.

Laymen, foreigners, and undergraduates will gain much insight from reading this volume; for those who know something of the subject, the author will pleasantly recall their past reading.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Agrarökonomik und Agrarsoziologie; über die Aufgaben und Grenzen der Agrarwissenschaften. Ein Vergleich zwischen der Entwicklung in Deutschland und der in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. By Dozent Dr. Leo Drescher. Jena: G. Fischer, 1937. Pp. vi, 80. RM3.20.

This comparison of the development and main traits of agricultural economics and rural sociology in the United States and in Germany by a Dozent (instructor) in the University of Berlin is naturally more complete on its German than on its American side. Nevertheless, if certain developments be considered very broadly indeed, it is a good picture of the major common aspects and differences between rural social science in the two countries. In general the same conclusions apply to the differences in economics as in sociology. American rural science is, in the Spenglerian sense, much more "western," "nominalistic," and "naturalistic" than is the German. America's newness, its natural resources, its lack of grass roots and its *Gesellschaftism* has influenced its agrarian ideology in a somewhat opposite manner from the racial, nationalistic, *volk* and group development in Germany. American rural social science is more statistical, Germany's more typological. We think largely of profit from agriculture; the German social scientist of the social position and obligations of the *bauer* (national economy or *sozialpolitik*). These differences are, however, merely relative. There are great common strains in all western culture. The author could improve his work by a wider acquaintance with contemporary and more recent developments in America. A number of the more prominent Americans in both sciences are not mentioned in the comparison.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Negro Year Book: Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro 1937-1938. By Monroe N. Work. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Yearbook Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. xiv, 575. \$2.00.

Professor Work has again brought up to date the most complete compendium of information about the Negro races which is to be found in the English language. For the United States 16 chapters give information about American Negroes and their relations to agriculture, labor, business, government, the church, education, etc. Data on Negro crime, lynchings, occupational statistics, and mortality rates are also included.

The book also contains sections devoted to the Negro in Latin America, Europe, and Africa. The Negro in poetry and art, literature on the Negro, and directories of Negro newspapers, organizations, and social service centers complete the book.

Louisiana State University

FRED C. FREY.

Knights of the Road. By James Lowell Hypes. Washington, D. C.: The Daylton Company, 1938. Pp. 223. \$2.25.

From faithfully recorded observations on a sabbatical world tour in 1936, Dr. Hypes has presented an account of his reactions to Southern England, the Madeira Islands, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the South Pacific. As a travelogue only this is not recommended, since a tendency to fine writing and an unattractive typography distract the interest of the casual reader. It is recommended, however, to the author's friends in sociology who will be interested not only in the comments on the life and economy of these countries, but also in the bits of philosophy interjected into the running account. In fact *Knights of the Road* properly belongs in the category of memoirs, reminiscences, and autobiographies, those perquisites of any prominent academician. The author has ingeniously chosen this occasion to string his philosophy of life on the thread of this travel experience, and it is this philosophy which makes the book of value.

Harvard University

WENDELL H. BASH

Rebuilding Rural America. By Mark Dawber. New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1937. Pp. xiii, 210. \$1.00, or in paper 60 cents.

This short work by Mark Dawber, a specialist in the rural church, should have been called *A Series of Lectures for Rural Ministers*. While the author wrestles with some fundamental problems in rural life, practically every chapter is focused at the rôle and function of the rural church, and the issues covered are by no means all of those involved in the rebuilding of rural America. The major contribution will undoubtedly be for rural ministers, religious study circles of various kinds, and to the laymen who would not normally read a more profound treatise on rural life, but who will be caught by the title of the book and edified by reading it.

United States Department of Agriculture

CARL C. TAYLOR

The Community School. Edited by Samuel Everett. New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1938. Pp. xii, 487. \$2.25.

This is a group of papers evaluating community school programs in schools organized under widely different environmental conditions. Education is held to be life rather than a preparation for life. Experimental participation in the activities of life is held to be of greater educative value than is study. The process is the organization of the school and the community so that all educational work in the school shall find its impelling interest in its integration with the common concerns of the group. This theory of education holds that the ultimate objective for the individual is the development of personality, and for the group, the enriching and intensifying of democratic values of life in the community. All programs analyzed indicate a fairly complete participation by teachers and pupils, by school and community. The two most thorough examples of community school participation are found in a Negro and an Indian school.

Raleigh, North Carolina

G. O. MUDGE

Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk. By Naomi Riches. University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. x, 194. \$2.50.

Norfolk led England in development of the farming practices and agricultural structure which constituted the eighteenth century agricultural revolution. Growing population and urbanization created the market. Enclosure of small holdings and commons developed large-scale commercial farms. Use of marl fertilizer and introduction of turnips and grass crops made possible abandonment of the medieval three-field system, and substitution of the more efficient crop rotation and convertible animal husbandry. The process conserved the soil and increased crop yield, but it was hard on the people it displaced from the land, then employed for wages. This is a competent, very detailed study in local agricultural history, holding interest for the contemporary scene.

University of California

PAUL S. TAYLOR

The Hindu Jajmani System. By W. H. Wiser. Lucknow, India: Lucknow Publishing House, 1936. Pp. 192.

This clear, concise picture of the functions of a North Indian village community, which has retained many of the ancient claims of different occupational groups, is one of the most significant contributions which has been made in recent years in the field of theoretical and applied sociology. The fixed economic and social status of the residents finds its authorization in the laws of Manu. The residents of a typical village in North India are divided into 24 castes, extending from the Brahman, priest and teacher, to the *Tawaiif*, the Molammedan dancing girl. The Jajmani System is based upon the exchange of services within a given community with only an occasional payment in kind or money. Each caste must serve all of the community or certain designated castes. The clientele of each group is called its Jajmani. Wiser points out that the continuation of the Jajmani System has given a high degree of stability to the Indian villages but that this stability has, in many instances, stood in the way of social advance. The conclusions point out 15 social contributions made by this system, and five conditions established by it which the author thinks should be protected and continued. He points out that the West has much to learn from the East, especially as regards the tendency for the individual to make his personal interest secondary to the interest of the community.

University of Tulsa

A. M. PAXSON

Guam, Series A. Edited by C. F. Reid. New York: College of the City of New York, 1937. (Mimeographed, pp. 37). Free.

This is the first of a series of eight bibliographies on the Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States. Others will be published dealing with American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Alaska, and the Philippine Islands. Copies will be distributed free upon request from public libraries, foundations, colleges, universities, schools, and governmental offices.

News Notes and Announcements

American Association of Schools of Social Work:—The Social Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant to the American Association of Schools of Social Work for a three-year study of the present curricula and plans of schools of social work and changes required for meeting the new demands for trained personnel in the state and federal Social Security programs. The study will be directed by the Executive Committee of the Association which consists of Wilbur I. Newstetter, Western Reserve University, President of the Association and Chairman of the Executive Committee; Marion Hathway, University of Pittsburgh, Secretary-Treasurer; Arlien Johnson, University of Washington; Margaret Leal, New York School of Social Work; Alice Leahy Shea, University of Minnesota; R. Clyde White, University of Chicago; and Elizabeth Wisner, Tulane University.

It is the broad purpose of this grant by the Foundation and of the Association to make a thoroughgoing study of professional education for the public social services, both rural and urban, and to be able to propose a constructive plan for future development of education for the social services. Effective June 1 Miss Hathway will become full-time Executive Secretary of the Association.

University of Arizona:—Professor E. D. Tetreau served as chairman of an oral examining committee to examine candidates who had been successful in their written examinations of the State Board of Social Security and Welfare, under a newly-inaugurated merit system.

Professor Tetreau will lecture at the School for Extension Workers, New Mexico State College, April 11 and 14, inclusive.

Federal Support for Public Education:—Rural sociologists should interest themselves in the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill (S. 419, H.R. 10340) now before Congress. This bill provides federal funds in amounts increasing from 1939 to 1945 for elementary and secondary schools, for teacher training, for school buildings, for state departments of education, for adult education, for rural library service, and for co-operative educational research. It is based upon the Report of the Advisory Committee on Education (75th Congress, 3rd Session, House Document No. 529, or obtainable from the Government Printing Office for thirty-five cents). Hearings on the original bill for federal aid were held by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and are to be found in Senate Document 217, 75th Congress, 1st Session.

This commission was under the chairmanship of Dr. Floyd B. Reeves and included in its membership Dr. E. deS. Brunner, Dr. Henry C. Taylor, and a notable list of educators. In my judgment, this report will rank with that of Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission. The bill before Congress closely follows the recommendations of the Commission, and, if passed, its effects will

be as far reaching as those of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts. The report of the Commission is noteworthy in that it recognizes the rôle which rural sociologists may have in the better districting of rural schools. Get a copy of the report and of the bill; give it your study and support.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Harvard University:—Harper and Brothers announces the forthcoming volume on the *Changing Community* by Carle C. Zimmerman in September. The work deals with case studies of local communities in America and Canada.

Louisiana State University:—Dr. Rudolf Heberle of the University of Kiel, Germany, has been appointed professor of sociology, effective July 1, 1938.

Mid-West Sociological Society:—The second annual meetings of the Mid-West Sociological Society were held in Des Moines, April 21-23, 1938. Some 97 interested persons representing some 43 institutions and agencies were registered for the sessions.

The program of the meetings centered about the discussion of three topics, namely:

1. Social Welfare in the Middle West
2. The Nature and Content of the First Course in Sociology
3. Regional Research; Methods and Possibilities

At the annual dinner the Presidential Address given by Joyce O. Hertzler of the University of Nebraska discussed the "American Regionalism and the Regional Society." Interest in co-operation regional research was again dominant throughout the meetings.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: Noel P. Gist (University of Missouri), President; Ray E. Wakeley (Iowa State College, Vice-President; Lloyd V. Ballard (Beloit College), Secretary-Treasurer.

A tabulation of research projects being carried on in the ten states from which the Mid-West Sociological Society draws its membership, was presented by Professor J. Howell Atwood of Knox College. The number of projects in the different categories is as follows: rural sociology, 27; community problems, 16; history and theory of sociology, 9; ethnic groups, 6; family, 6; sociology of religion, 5; sociology and social work, 5; political sociology, 4; human ecology, 3; educational sociology, 3; sociology and psychiatry, 3; criminology, 2; social psychology, 2; population, 2. A tabulation of the 27 rural projects (which constituted more than one-fourth of the total reported) showed the following distribution: public welfare (depression, relief, old age), 9; mobility and migration of population, 8; social organization, 4; youth and recreation, 3; social change, 1; family, 1; ethnic groups (nationalities), 1.

University of Missouri:—Professor C. E. Lively, who has been at Ohio State University since 1921, has accepted the appointment as professor of rural sociology at the University of Missouri, succeeding the late Professor E. L. Morgan.

University of Rochester:—Dr. C. Luther Fry, head of the department of soci-

ology, died April 12, in Rochester. From 1922 to 1933, when he went to Rochester, Dr. Fry was associated with the Institute of Social and Religious Research, where his studies of American villages attracted attention. Dr. Fry was author of: "American Villages," "Census Analysis of American Villages," "The United States Looks at Its Churches," "The Technique of Social Investigation," "The New and Old Immigrant on the Land," "Diagnosing the Rural Church," and he contributed to the report on "Recent Social Trends" and the report of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, as well as a number of other publications.

Social Science Research Council.—Complete sets of *Social Science Abstracts* for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which it was published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to \$1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be \$1.50. For Canada, the charge will be \$3.00, and for other foreign countries, \$4.00.

Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems¹

By Carl C. Taylor*

ABSTRACT

Constructive measures for dealing with the South's population problems must rest upon the fundamental fact of pressure of population on natural resources. No theoretical discussion will obviate the necessity of utilizing resident natural resources and the maximum efficiency of modern technologies including education, toward the end of sustaining as large a number of persons on the land as possible. The four general types of adjustment suggested here are: (1) the promotion of balanced farming or a maximum development of live-at-home farming; (2) the expansion of manufacturing processes of many kinds, (3) the encouragement of combined farming and industrial enterprises, and (4) the intelligent guidance of the relocation of surplus population into both farming and industrial enterprises. These suggestions are made with the conviction that they are practical steps which can be taken immediately, for the most part by local people, in a thousand communities in the South.

INTRODUCTION

For two reasons, it is undesirable to spend any considerable amount of time in discussing details of the Southern population situation. In the first place, my topic is "Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems." It is essential therefore to come as quickly as possible to a discussion of programs and policies. In the second place, I can assume that the members of this audience are well acquainted with the elaborate and diverse analyses that in recent years have been made of the Southern population situation. Odum, Vance, Woofter, Williams, Smith, Hamilton, Baker, Taeuber, Taylor, Thompson, Whelpton, Spengler,² and others within the last five years have dealt with the issues of

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¹ A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 2, 1938.

² Howard Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936); Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932); T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Replacement Rates in the Productive Ages," *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XV (1937), 348-354; B. O. Williams, "A Population Policy for the South," *Social Forces*, XVI (October, 1937), 48-66; T. Lynn Smith, "Recent Changes in Farm Population of the Southern States," *Social Forces*, XV (March, 1937), 341-401; C. Horace Hamilton,

Southern population composition and trends. In addition to these general studies, there have been a number of detailed population analyses of specific Southern states. Further study in these fields is desirable and necessary, but a repetition of the findings of the studies already made, in terms of detailed statistics, is not necessary here.

By way of introduction to the subject assigned to me, I shall formulate a few broad generalizations which as briefly as possible state the major well-known facts concerning the composition, characteristics, and trends of the population of the thirteen Southern states; and in doing so, I shall confine myself to facts about which there can be little controversy. I shall then call your attention to a series of maps which present in graphic form data which set at least some of the issues with which constructive measures concerning Southern population problems must deal.

The framework of these issues is set by the following facts:

1. The 13 Southern states in 1930 had 27.2 per cent of the Nation's total population, but had 32.8 per cent of all those under five years of age.
2. Notwithstanding the fact that the South's rate of natural growth in population is about four times as great as the average for the nation, it had a slightly smaller per cent of the total national population in 1930 than it had in 1900.
3. Between 1920 and 1930 the South furnished, by way of migration, to the remainder of the Nation, approximately 1,400,000 more persons than it received from other parts of the Nation.
4. In 1930, 43.8 per cent of the population of the Nation was rural, but 67.9 per cent of the South was rural. The rural percentage for all non-Southern states was only 34.7.
5. For the Nation as a whole in 1930, 30 per cent of the population lived in cities of 100,000 or over, whereas in the South 12 per cent of the people lived in cities of this size. Only 10 per cent of the population of the large cities (100,000 and over) of the Nation is in the South.
6. Contrasted with this is the fact that 42.6 per cent of the rural population, and 51.5 per cent of the rural-farm population of the Nation lived in the South. The rural-farm population constituted only 24.8 per cent of the

"Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920-1930," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 295*, 1934; O. E. Baker, "The Population Prospect of the South," paper given before National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Richmond, Va., November, 1937; Conrad Taeuber, "The Movement to Southern Farms, 1930-1935," *Rural Sociology*, III (1938), 69-76; Carl C. Taylor, Helen Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture," *Social Research Report No. VIII*, Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics (Washington, 1938); Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933); Joseph J. Spengler, "Population Problems of the South," pts. I-III (reprinted from the Southern Economic Journal, Vol. III, No. 4; Vol. IV, No. 1 and No. 2).

Nation, but 46.0 per cent of the South. It constituted only 16.4 per cent of the non-South's population.

7. The proportion of the urban population has increased more rapidly in the South than in the Nation as a whole in every decade since 1900, and the number of urban dwellers doubled between 1900 and 1930.
8. Southern rural-farm population was 317,609 fewer in 1930 than in 1910, but increased 487,973 between 1930 and 1935.
9. The population of the South is not increasing as rapidly as that of the remainder of the Nation; its urban population is increasing more rapidly, and its rural-farm population is decreasing less rapidly, its rural-nonfarm population is increasing less than one-fourth as rapidly as in the remainder of the Nation.
10. Both gross and net fertility rates since 1910 have been falling more rapidly in the Southern population than in the Nation as a whole. This rapid decline has been chiefly in the Southern urban population. The rural decline did not equal that for the remainder of the country.³
11. Migrations from farms during the decade 1920-1930 were greater in the South (21.2 per cent) than in the Nation as a whole (16.0 per cent). The Southern farm to village and city migration was equal to one-fifth of the number of persons living on farms in 1920.
12. The Southern states, which had contributed 60 per cent of the net migration from farms to towns and cities between 1920 and 1930, received one-third of the "back-to-the-land" migrants between 1930 and 1935.
13. The suburban trend, that is, the movement to the periphery of cities, has been very rapid in recent years.⁴
14. The South has more than its share of young persons, slightly less than its share of old persons, and considerably less than its share of persons in the middle age groups. This is because the fertility ratio is very high in the South, because the South is dominantly rural and rural birth rates exceed urban birth rates, and because it is mostly young middle aged persons who migrate out of the South.
15. Of the increase of 524,000 farms in the Nation between 1930 and 1935, 33.3 per cent were in the South. Most of the increase was in the poor-land areas.⁵
16. Between 1900 and 1930 the per cent of all Southern gainfully employed engaged in manufacturing increased from 10.5 per cent to 20.5 per cent, a gain just less than double that of the United States as a whole.
17. The per capita personal income in the Southern rural-farm population in 1929 was about two-thirds that for the farm population of the Nation; about one-third of that for the Southern nonfarm population; and about one-fifth of that for the nonfarm population of the remainder of the Na-

³ Joseph J. Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 401, 404.

⁴ T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

⁵ *Ibid.*

tion.⁶ The per capita income in the South from occupations and agriculture combined was, in 1929, 51 per cent of that of the non-South.⁷

B. O. Williams says, "The South had in 1932 about 16 per cent of the physical wealth of the United States and about 27 per cent of the population." "Of every one hundred dollars of personal income in the Nation in 1929, the South had about fifteen dollars; yet, of every one hundred people of the Nation that year, the South had approximately twenty-seven."⁸

18. The amount of land in farms per person gainfully employed in agriculture in 1929 was only 31.1 per cent as great in the South as in the remainder of the United States.⁹
19. There were in 1929, 304,000 "self-sufficient" farms in the South. This was 61 per cent of all those in the Nation.
20. The distribution of the gainfully employed for 1929 shows the South with almost twice as high a per cent as the Nation in extractive enterprises (agriculture, lumbering, mining, etc.); slightly less than the national average in transportation and communication; about two-thirds the national per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; and less than two-thirds in services (domestic, professional, and public).¹⁰
21. The final generalization I quote directly from T. Lynn Smith's article on "Recent Changes in the Farm Population of the Southern States." He says, ". . . far-reaching changes in, and rearrangements of, the population have recently been under way. The rapid increases of farm population in suburban areas and in poor-land areas, coupled with the decreases of farm population in the better agricultural sections, offer a challenge to everyone concerned with the formulation and administration of agricultural policies, particularly for those attempting to evaluate the effects of policies recently carried out in the South."¹¹

In order to come quickly to an understanding of the heart of the problems involved in suggesting constructive programs, we shall assume that a discovery of maladjusted areas is a good starting point. These areas are depicted graphically under the seven following headings:¹²

1. Low income areas—including those counties in which 50 per cent or more of the farms in 1929 reported less than \$600 as the value of all products sold, traded, or used by the operator's family—are shown in solid black in Figure 1. The mean value of all farm products for fami-

⁶ Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. II, pp. 4, 133. Also see Brookings Institution, *America's Capacity to Consume*.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48, 66.

⁹ Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. III, p. 137. Also see J. D. Black, *Review of Economic Statistics*, May, 1936.

¹⁰ Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. III, p. 142.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

¹² For further information concerning these criteria and the procedure used see Taylor, Wheeler, and Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*

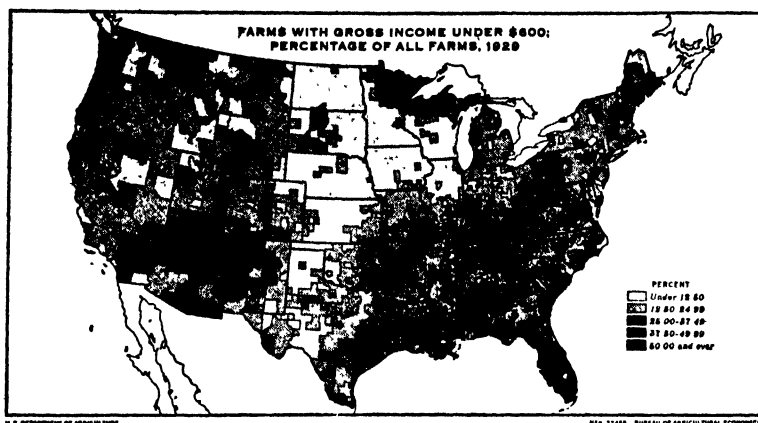


FIGURE 1

lies with incomes of less than \$600 was \$375, of which approximately one-half represents the value of farm products consumed at home.

2. Farm labor areas—including those counties in which 50 per cent or more of the persons whose gainful occupation was in agriculture, were farm laborers—are also shown in Figure 2.

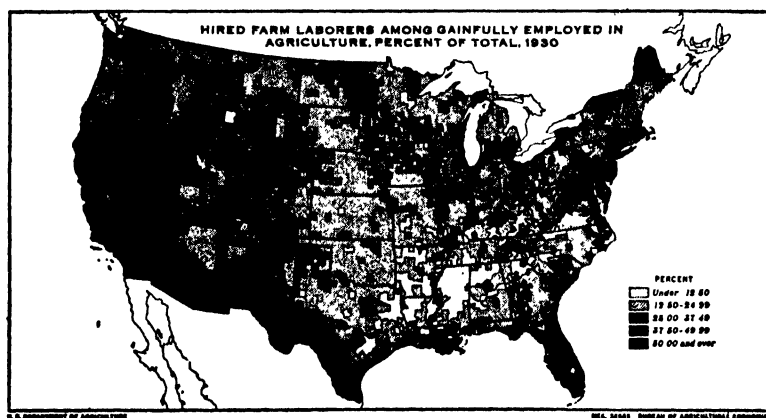


FIGURE 2

3. Farm tenancy areas—including those counties in which 50 per cent or more of the farm operators were tenants or croppers, i.e., persons who did not own any part of the land they were operating—are shown in Figure 3.

4. Poor land areas—including those counties in which 20 per cent or more of the farms should be replaced because of maladjustments in land use—are shown in Figure 4.

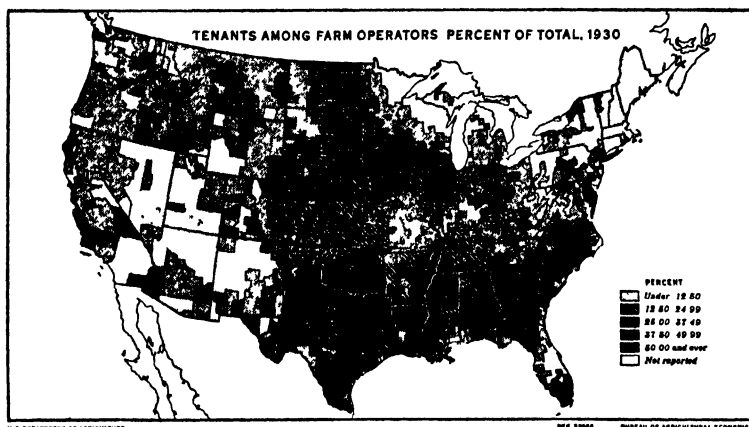


FIGURE 3

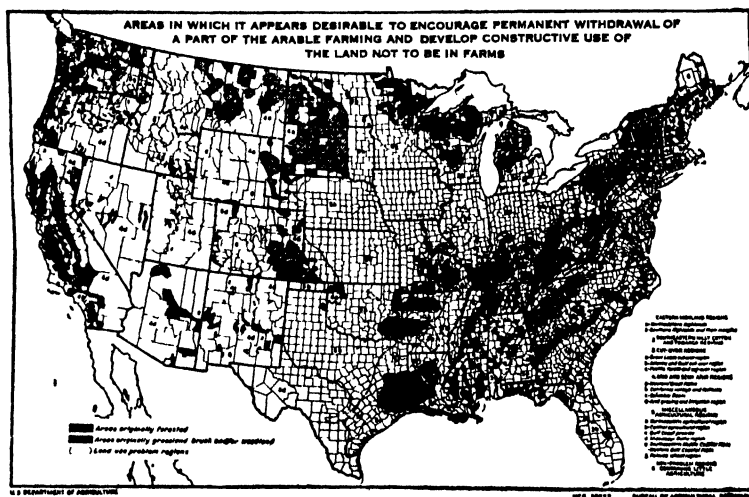


FIGURE 4

5. Migration areas—including those counties in which the rural population between 1920 and 1930 lost by migration a number of persons equivalent to 30 per cent or more of those there at the beginning of the period, taking into account the natural increase. So heavy an exodus from the rural areas of a county, may, in general, be taken as evidence of serious maladjustments (Figure 5).

6. Heavy relief areas—including those counties in which, in June, 1935, the total number of persons receiving relief, financed in whole or in part from Federal funds, was equal to or greater than 30 per cent of the population of the county in 1930 (Figure 6).

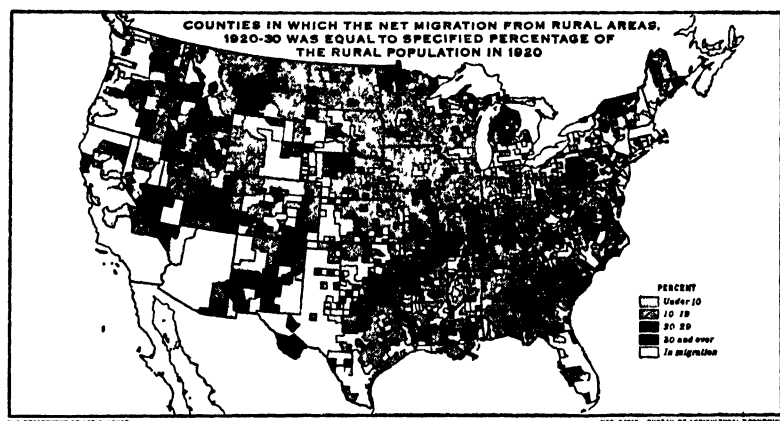


FIGURE 5

7. Areas of low rural-farm standards of living—including those counties in which a standard of living index was 20 or less; the range for the index being from 0 to 100. The ratings were based upon the proportion of farm homes possessing such facilities as electric lights, water piped to the dwelling, telephone, radio, and the proportion of farms reporting an automobile (Figure 7).

It is clear that to a large extent these seven items are interrelated and that in general they show persistent population maladjustments. The chief exceptions are that a high percentage of farm laborers are very often associated with a high agricultural income for the area, and that only the Southern tenant belt should be considered in this discussion. In the areas of high income, where the great volume of farm laborers is located, the farm laborers do not participate equitably in the high income, and it is only the Southern tenant who is almost universally a low income farmer.

The mapping of each type of maladjustment clearly reveals areas in which is concentrated population subjected to the condition being considered. When these areas are compared, it becomes clear that in certain areas in the Nation the farm inhabitants for one or more reasons are securing a level of living which is relatively very low.

There are 769 counties in the United States, all of which are included in at least two of the maps presented here; that is, all have at least two disadvantaging factors or conditions which tend to lower the capacity of large segments of the farm population within these counties to attain satisfactory levels of living. Six hundred and sixty-seven, or 86.7 per cent of those counties are in the 13 Southern states (Figure 8).

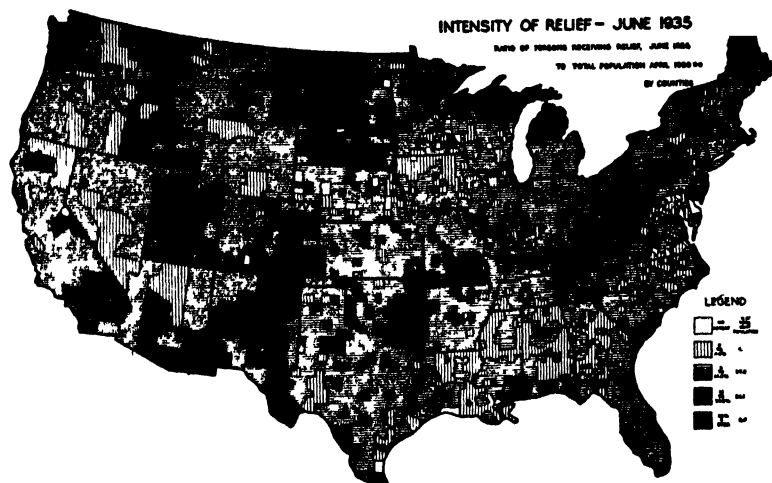


FIGURE 6

GENERAL TRENDS TOWARD ADJUSTMENT OR MALADJUSTMENT

Before we begin any detailed discussion of population programs for the South as a whole, it is well to give some consideration to the two chief types of problem areas included in this large region. Other sub-regions, each with peculiar characteristics, could be described,¹⁸ but for the purpose of the types of analyses sought here we shall mention only the Mountain areas and the Cotton Belt. These two areas are geographically mutually exclusive and in some of their population problems are quite different. They do not cover the whole South, but will serve as

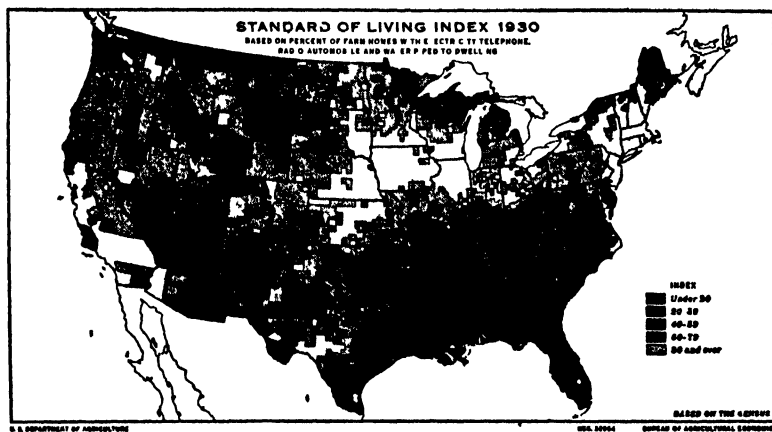


FIGURE 7

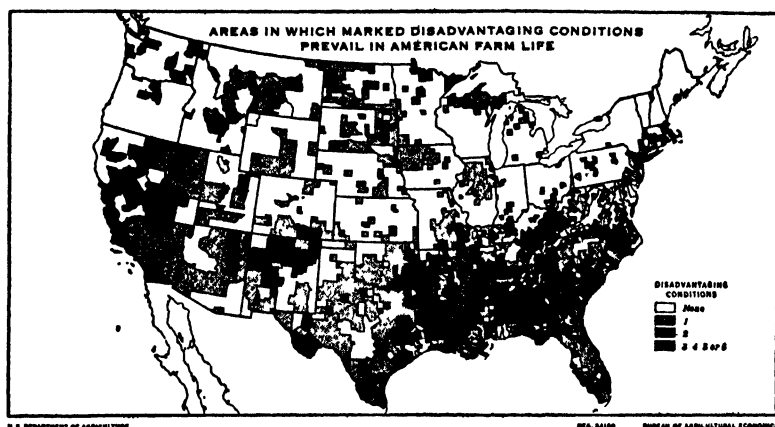


FIGURE 8

major subregions for the discussion of the issues at stake in considering programs and policies for action.

In Asch and Mangus's classification of the Eastern and Western Cotton belts, there are 575 counties. In their classification of the Appalachian-Ozark mountain areas, there are 265 counties, or a total of 840 counties which are either Cotton Belt or Mountain counties in the two subregions of the South which we are discussing. Of the 575 Cotton counties, 401 of them appear in black or near-black in Figure 8. Of the 265 Mountain counties, 140 appear in black or near-black. Thus, approximately 70 per cent of all Cotton counties, and 53 per cent of all Mountain counties are counties in which two or more disadvantaging factors prevail, as revealed in the figures presented.

In some types of problems these two subregions are similar, but in others they are quite dissimilar. They are similar in that both are areas of high birth rates and small farms; each has more than the national proportion of young persons; each is dominantly rural; both are areas of low farm income and low standards of living. Net migration between 1920 and 1930 was heavy in both areas. They are dissimilar in that the Cotton Belt is a dominantly cash crop area and the Mountain Area is dominantly a self-sufficing farming area; urbanization is taking place more rapidly in the Cotton Belt than in the Mountain areas; farms have increased more rapidly in the Mountain areas than in the Cotton Belt; there is little tenancy in the mountains but very much of it in the Cotton Belt. Nonfarm employment opportunities have been increasing in the

¹⁸ See especially chaps. 16 and 19 in Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States*.

Cotton Belt but decreasing in the Mountain areas. These differences should be kept in mind in considering suggested constructive measures for dealing with the population problems of the South as a whole.

POLICIES OF ADJUSTMENT NEEDED

In discussing possible and desirable constructive policies and programs we shall keep in mind trends already in operation in the South and similar trends which have taken place to a greater extent in other sections of the Nation. We shall also keep in mind the differences between the physiographic and cultural features of the South and other sections of the Nation. Nor shall we overlook the fact that there is a difference in 1938, when the South is confronted with some of the same types of population problems with which some other sections of the Nation were confronted in 1878, 1898, or 1918. We shall not, therefore, assume that we can blithely borrow blueprints for the South in 1938 from New England, the Northeastern, or North Central states in other decades. We can and should learn from the trends and practices in other sections and other periods, but something more is needed if we would attack Southern population maladjustments in the light of the South's greatest physical and cultural opportunities.

We shall propose four general types of adjustment: two related to farm population, one related to urban population, and one related to both farm and urban, i.e., to rural-nonfarm and village population. They are: (1) the promotion of balanced farming or a maximum development of "live-at-home farming," i.e., the maximum expansion of home-produced farm products for farm home consumption; (2) the expansion of manufacturing processes of many kinds; (3) the encouragement of combined farm and industrial enterprises; and (4) the intelligent guidance of the relocation of surplus Southern population, to both farming and industrial opportunities.

It is not a digression at this point to state why unlimited and uncontrolled production of farm products will not solve these problems. The reasons are simple. *First*, the South's welfare demands the conservation of its land above all other natural resources as a cure for a too exploitative system of production in the past and a prophylactic against its continuance in the future; *second*, if maximum efficiency in producing volume of farm products is practiced, it is already clear that commercial agriculture cannot absorb population in excess of that which is now engaged in the production of farm products for the market.

One cannot study the unplanned trends which we have mentioned and not know that the solution offered by some people of retaining on Southern farms all of the population that originates there and asking Southern agriculture in times of depression to absorb the unemployed of the city, simply will not work in terms of social welfare. Such a solution would result not only in low farm prices for all farmers, because they would overproduce their markets, but would mean that the excess farm population, swollen by those who return from the city, would simply pile up, as they are now doing, in the poor-land areas of the South.

We have little to offer by way of suggestions for reducing the birth rate in these Southern problem areas. This is a subject which requires much further study before engaging upon any policies toward that end. Furthermore, experience in this country indicates that the breaking down of the isolation of rural areas and the increased amount of education have so affected attitudes toward family size and reproduction that a reduction in rates of increase has followed. At the present stage of our knowledge it is not clear that rates of natural increase are subject to planned manipulation. Our view is based on the assumption that the basic adjustments must be made with the persons already born and growing to adulthood now.

Furthermore, it is clear that a decrease in the birth rates in these disadvantaged areas will not quickly alter the situation, or decrease the necessity for other remedies, for it is obvious that even if there should be a precipitous decline in birth rates, its major effect would not be felt until 18 to 20 years hence. In the meantime, on the farms in the states most affected, the available openings on farms due to death or retirement are only about one-half to one-third as numerous as the number of young people reaching maturity and becoming available for these jobs.¹⁴

Nor does it seem profitable to view with alarm the fact that disproportionately large numbers of our population are born in areas which on the basis of past performance are classified as problem areas. The place where a person is born is not a measure of his innate capacities, anymore so than the month of his birth.

The most universally applicable remedy for farm population pressure in the South is the development of the highest degree possible of balanced farming, in which "live-at-home" farming on the best as well as on the relatively poor lands is practiced. I should like to expand upon

¹⁴ Woolfer, *op. cit.* The replacement rates given are in terms of rates of increase in the age group 18-65, but can be adapted to the form of the statement made above.

this statement with special reference to the two subregions into which I have divided the South for the purposes of this discussion. The largest so-called self-sufficient farming area of the United States lies almost altogether in the Mountain sections of the South; in other words, in a poor-land area. The Cotton section of the South, on the other hand, has a very low percentage of self-sufficient farms, and the best cotton land in the South, namely the Delta, has practically no self-sufficient farms. The type of "live-at-home" farming which I am referring to should be most easily and most universally practiced on the best lands as well as on the poorest lands.

The promotion of such a system of farming is not, as some argue, an attempt to turn back the pages of farming progress. It is an attempt to write the greatest degree of security possible under the lives of millions of farm families who have their destinies in their own hands to a greater extent than any other segment of our population, and who, in the South as in no other section of the Nation, have the climatic conditions feasible to this type of farming.

Woofter shows in his plantation study that there are tremendous deficits in the farm home production of food products needed in the Southern states. His statistics for the state of Alabama show a deficit of 27 per cent in meat, 37 per cent in milk, 11 per cent in potatoes, 76 per cent in apples, and 60 per cent in vegetables other than potatoes.¹⁵ An analysis of all of the counties with three or more disadvantaging factors in Figure 8 in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi show that for all the farms in these counties in 1930, 38.4 per cent of them had no milch cows, 47.1 per cent churned no butter, 17.1 per cent had no chickens, and 24 per cent had no vegetable gardens.

The preliminary reports of the study of consumer purchases, made by the Bureau of Home Economics, show that quite consistently the low-income farmers of the South are the ones who produce the smallest amount of food for family use, and the lower the income the smaller amount that is produced. In Georgia, for instance, the nonrelief families in the sample whose total average family income was less than \$500 per year produced only \$222 in food; whereas those whose incomes were between \$500 and \$1,000 produced \$364 worth of food; and every group with an income of more than \$1,000 produced \$500 worth or

¹⁵ T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," *Research Monograph V*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, Table 16, p. 47.

more of food.¹⁶ The same general trend was true among Mississippi farm families, and the same thing was true for Negro and white families—those with the lowest farm income consistently produced a smaller amount of their home supplies than those with higher incomes.¹⁷ This is exactly the reverse of what a "live-at-home" program would dictate, for in such a program those with the lowest farm incomes would raise their standards of living by producing not only a higher per cent, but a greater amount of home-consumed goods.

There is no marked difference between cash crop farmers in the Cotton Belt and self-sufficing farmers in the Mountain areas, as far as this trend in behavior is concerned. For two North Carolina counties in which self-sufficient farming predominates, the statistics are as follows: for all families receiving less than \$500 per year total income, \$260 worth of food was produced during the year; for those receiving between \$500 and \$1,000, \$455 worth of food was produced; and for all classes with over \$1,000 income, more than \$600 worth of food was grown at home. The highest income group in these counties, namely those receiving \$3,000 or over annual income, produced \$738 worth of food for home consumption.¹⁸ It is thus perfectly clear that thousands of low income farm families in the South, by producing more than \$700 worth rather than less than \$400 worth of food for home consumption, and in many cases less than \$200 worth, could raise their standards of living by means of factors which lie within their own control.

Woofter's plantation study also shows that the production by tenants and sharecroppers of home consumable products was so slight that the advances from the commissaries during the summer months were not influenced in the least by the production for home consumption of products which these tenant and cropper families under a "live-at-home" program could have completely furnished themselves. Farm families by the hundreds of thousands in the Cotton Belt of the South could not only improve their material standard of living by producing these products at home, but could save the money which they now spend for food products, and use that money to purchase from the market additional

¹⁶ *Study of Consumer Purchases*, Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. D. A., Preliminary Release, Table F-442-3, "Eight Counties in Georgia, Farm Operators."

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, Table F-N-432-3, "Farms in Leflore and Washington Counties in Mississippi, Negro Farm Operators"; F-N-512-3, "Negro Farm Sharecroppers"; F-422-3, "Farms in Bolivar, Leflore, Sunflower, and Washington Counties in Mississippi, White Farm Operators"; F-472-3, "White Farm Sharecroppers."

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, Table F-242-3, "Jackson and Macon Counties in North Carolina, Self-Sufficing Farms."

things they do not now have. I have personally never been able to understand why anyone imagines that those of us who urge "live-at-home" farming assume that such a system of farming would in any way reduce the practice of also producing for the market. The plain facts are that at the present time the people about whom we are talking not only fail to a considerable extent to produce their home supplies, but they fail to buy many things which they should have because they must spend what little cash comes into their hands to *purchase* food supplies instead of other things.

All of the detailed studies that have been made of the standard of living of Southern tenants and sharecroppers show that the theory that these people should produce the cash crops for which they have a recognized comparative advantage and purchase from other agricultural sections of the Nation those products in which they are at a comparative disadvantage, does not work out in terms of adequate food supplies for cotton farmers. Freight, storage, financing, and middleman costs are so great between the different geographic areas of the Nation that farmers with as little cash as most Cotton Belt farmers have, do not provide good markets for family consumption products grown in other regions. The result is that there is an absence of milk, eggs, fruits, and vegetables in the diets of hundreds of thousands of Southern farm families. The practical, feasible, and immediately applicable remedy is the production on Southern farms of these products for home consumption. This means a higher degree of self-sufficient farming which is really "sufficient" in terms of human welfare. It is a problem in planning and promoting a definite type of rural culture in the same intelligent and vigorous fashion that we now promote programs of soil conservation, rural rehabilitation, agricultural production and price adjustments, and better land adjustments.

Industrial development in the South has been rapid during the last three decades and has contributed greatly to the alleviation of population pressure on the land. Opportunities for employment in other than the extractive industries have in fact been increasing in the Southern states more rapidly than in any other part of the country, and although the increase in wage jobs in no type of industry has been large, the upward trend has continued during the depression years, at a time when such jobs were decreasing in numbers in most other sections of the country. There is still, however, much opportunity for expansion.

The assumption that it is feasible to expand many types of industry in

the South is based upon the following considerations: (1) The South is the producer of a great diversity and a great volume of raw materials, agricultural, mineral, and ceramic, which pass through refining and fabricating processes before they reach the consumer. (2) The rapid development of electrical power in the Southern Appalachians will provide one of the major requisites to industrial development. (3) There is a superabundance of labor supply. With raw materials, power, and labor supply, little more is needed than the type of enterprise which can and will integrate these fundamental elements into a vast industrial development.

In addition to these factors, of course, the South must have increased capital. To borrow this capital, however, from areas outside of the South is simply to burden the South with debt, or, in other words, transfer a part of the ownership of the capital assets to other sections of the country by way of mortgage and bonded indebtedness. Here again, the South should lift itself by its own bootstraps, which it could very easily do by producing a far larger percentage of its consumable goods and building a great reservoir of capital out of funds which now flow annually to other sections of the country for the purchase of the very consumable goods which can be most easily produced in the South.

There is a definite caution, however, that should be expressed concerning the nature and type of industrial development that should take place in order to guarantee the greatest economic and social opportunity for the present excess population of the South. Too much of the industrial development of the South has been in the fields of industry which demanded either unskilled or semiskilled labor. This, as Heer points out, is the chief explanation of why industrial development has not raised the income of Southern producers to the extent that it has in other sections of the country. Mountain farmers and sharecroppers have shifted into the mills on low wage levels to produce the coarser rather than the finer products of factory-made goods. Towns and cities have sought industries in order to multiply smokestacks and create pay rolls without giving due consideration to the fact that the wages paid to industrial workers are of equal or greater importance than any and all other factors. At the present time, the lag in Southern wage rates is almost as great as the lag in agricultural income and therefore does not offer the degree of solution to the Southern population problem which it will offer when the industrial wage rate lag is reduced.¹⁹

¹⁹ Carter Goodrich, *et al.*, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, The Report of the Study of Population Redistribution (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 130-131; and Clarence Hogg, *Income and Wages in the South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1930), ch. III.

Another applicable remedy is probably the combination of farming and other occupations. This can be "subsistence homesteading" not only near large cities but near smaller cities and towns and in rural villages. Because of modern means of transportation and recent developments in transmissible power, there can be a considerable decentralization of industry; and by a little nurture and guidance, there can be a great expansion in handicraft production. Handicrafts are being slowly eliminated from our rural districts because no one is giving adequate attention to markets for them. This means not only the loss of at least some possible income to thousands of farm families, but the elimination from our rural civilization of one of the most creative elements in it.

In the Mountain areas of the South, it is not only a fact that farm families are trying to make a living on small, poor-land farms, but that they have lost income from outside employment by the steady depletion of other natural resources. The possibility of introducing small-scale industry should not be overlooked when planning for adjustments in these regions. It is here that cheap electrical power is going to be available in great quantities, and it is here that home-craftsmanship is more highly developed than in any other section of the Nation. I am not preaching Utopias of highly organized rural-industrial communities in these areas. I am saying that the self-sufficient farming that is here could be made more sufficient, that the practice of soil conservation could save for future generations much of the land which is now being rapidly wasted, and that the application of the greatest intelligence and planning possible toward the end of reintroducing opportunities for supplementary income from nonfarm employment would probably leave many people in these areas who, without this combination of practices and enterprises, will either have to move out en masse or gradually but surely fall to lower levels of living.

There is no question that many of the more than three million farm families of the Nation which in 1929 produced only 11 per cent of the market farm products could make a better living if they would move to better lands. Nor is there any question that better lands can be found for them. If they had twice as good a land base as they now have and would use the land to produce the maximum usable products for home consumption, they probably could raise their material standards of living by at least 50 per cent without becoming involved in the market to any greater extent than at the present. The issue is not, however, primarily one of finding better land for these self-sufficient farmers, for that would

be comparatively easy; it is not the issue of increasing their capacities for producing more home consumable goods, for this could be accomplished not only by getting them on better lands but by their learning more about canning and preserving foods, and home crafts of all kinds. The real issue is whether these people would retain their self-sufficient culture if they left their relative isolation and settled in the communities where commercial farming was universal. Unless they exercised conscious control and unless there was promoted in these communities a planned program of self-sufficient farming they would probably, within a generation be attempting to "make a killing" in cotton, tobacco, or some other commercial crop and thus would destroy their old self-contained culture while they increased the volume of farm products offered to the market.

Even so, there should be a resettlement program, an intelligently conceived and conservatively conducted program of guidance for already highly mobile populations in their attempts to find better orientation to the land resources. Such a program should include employment services, vocational education, actual loans, and farm and home supervision to help "resettlers" establish themselves in new locations.

Some steps have already been taken in this direction. The Subsistence Homesteads program was the first. This was followed by the so-called "submarginal land" purchase program, then the "rural-industrial-community" program of the F.E.R.A., and finally by the Rural Resettlement program. In addition to these was the relocation program of the T.V.A., necessitated by the evacuation of areas flooded by the water reservoirs created by power and flood control dams. All of these programs have been more successful than is generally believed by the public. The fact that many of the projects have cost a great deal more money than they should, ought not to keep us from seeing that after the experimental stage of their early development is past, they present the right blueprint for solving a part of the problem with which we are dealing in this paper.

The Subsistence Homesteads program not only established a number of suburban settlements, but also a number of small farm projects. The suburban projects promote the combination of urban employment and subsistence gardening at the periphery of cities. The farm projects assist stranded coal miners and Southern tenant farmers to become self-sufficient farm owners. The "Rural Industrial Community" projects make a definite attempt to encourage the decentralization of small industries; and the "Submarginal Land Purchase Program" removes from wrong

uses lands where soil wastage is taking place so rapidly as to jeopardize the standards of living of the population in these areas.

CONCLUSION

It is more than likely that sooner or later a turn in economic trends will again stimulate a marked flow of farm population to industrial centers. Even if this movement should become as great in magnitude as in the decade between 1920 and 1930, the data presented in the early part of this paper would seem to prove that there would still exist rural population problem areas in the South. Unguided migration will undoubtedly continue, but it has not solved the problems of these areas in the past. There is no reason to believe it will solve them in the future. Increase in the mechanization and commercialization of farming will multiply the problems of population adjustment. Crop control and price adjustments only slightly affect one-half of the disadvantaged farms of the South—those in the mountains. Relief, unless it is something more than "made work" or the "dole," probably tends to stabilize populations in areas which should be migrative. Something more is needed if we would attack farm population maladjustments by means of constructive and rehabilitative policies.

The suggestions made and discussed here would seem to us to be worthy not only of detailed study, but of actual, conscious promotion in the South. They are proposed as practical solutions, by which I mean they are programs which can be definitely promoted, and probably will be definitely promoted, just as soon as adequate analyses are made of the situations in terms of the populations living in these problem areas, and as soon as consideration is given to the first immediately practicable steps that can be taken.

These first steps, if they be in the channels which I have suggested, will not necessarily be steps toward building the Pittsburgh or Detroit type of industrial centers in the South, nor will they be steps in the direction of large-scale corporation farms such as may be feasible in the extensive Wheat Belt. They will include as much "live-at-home" farming as is feasible, as much expansion of manufacturing processes as can be done by the South itself, as many combined farm and industrial enterprises as the natural resources and the development of technology will permit, and the relocation of as much of the population as careful study and wise planning will dictate. They will be steps taken in the light of the fact that the South already has a culture of its own; that it has a

climatic situation different from all other sections of the country; that within the next 50 years the technologies of manufacturing will probably be vastly different from what they were in the periods when other regions of the Nation developed industrially; and that the practical approach is to take the Southern situation as it is today and make the greatest utilization possible of the natural resources in the South by means of the best technologies now in existence or to be developed, toward the end of furnishing to its people the highest standard of living possible in terms of nonmaterial and cultural factors as well as material and economic factors.

Problems of Rural Life Focused by the Depression¹

*Dwight Sanderson**

ABSTRACT

The depression has affected rural life mostly on the economic side, but indirectly it has had a considerable influence on its social organization. It has given a larger place to the subsistence values of rural life. It has given impetus to soil conservation. County organization of rural social work, direct attack on the tenancy problem and a strong movement for federal aid to the common schools are other movements resulting from the depression. Farmers have become convinced of the necessity of collective action, but it has also become apparent that their interests are regional, and that the integration of the opposing interests of different regions is essential for a national policy for agriculture. These movements have all been conducive to a reconsideration of the fundamental values of rural life.

In a recent memorandum² I have analyzed the effects of the depression upon rural life and have indicated the research problems arising as a consequence. I can at this time, therefore, do little more than to summarize what seem to be some of the most important movements in rural life which have been focused by the depression and to point out their sociological significance. For we must recognize that a major depression is much like a war in that it tends to hasten certain movements which were already under way rather than to create a wholly new situation. Furthermore, it must also be recognized that it is impossible to segregate the strictly social effects of the depression from the economic and political problems involved, and that the agricultural depression started in 1921 and was gradually righting itself when submerged by the industrial depression of 1930.

1. *Subsistence Values of Rural Life.* During the past two generations, there has been a rapid rise of commercial agriculture with a tendency to conceive its problems largely in terms of business management, monetary income and expenditure. At the same time, there was from 1910

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¹ Read at the meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 16, 1938.

² Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life During the Depression," Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 34, New York, 1937.

to 1930 an actual decrease in the rural-farm population owing to rural-urban migration. As a result of the partial stoppage of the rural-urban migration and of an increase of urban-rural migration, the farm population actually increased between 1930 and 1935, for the first time in a generation. As in all major depressions, the farms of the country bore the brunt of the depression and had to provide for an increased population. With low prices and poor markets, farmers were forced to become more self-subsistent. Furthermore, there was a marked increase in part-time farming and the need of relief brought attention to the large proportion of farms which should be classed as subsistence farms, i.e., which produce more for home consumption than for sale.

There has been, therefore, a marked increase in the appreciation of what may be called the subsistence values of farm life. This term includes not only the actual produce which may be obtained from the land for food, fuel, and shelter, but also the values of homemade goods of all sorts and the intangibles of homemade forms of recreation and leisure time activities as contrasted with commercial amusements. Attention has been turned from the idea of a rural culture based chiefly on a money economy to the possibilities of one which, although requiring a money income, may rest more largely on the goods which it creates, and which, at the same time, may be productive of a better and more stable living.

A large proportion of the families of farm operators who are now classed as commercial farmers, notably the share croppers and tenants of the South, would be much better off if they could develop a more self-subsistent type of farming, since they produce more for sale than for home consumption. When all of these classes are considered there is found to be a very large proportion, the exact percentage depending upon the definitions used, of people living on and from the land whose condition could be vastly improved if their better subsistence was given primary consideration in the development of agricultural policies. This problem is now being given thorough consideration by the Federal Department of Agriculture, and as a result of the depression we shall see a much more aggressive policy of attempting to improve the condition of this large class of farmers rather than merely to increase the production of agricultural products.

2. *Soil Conservation.* The depression has given new impetus to soil conservation and rise to new attitudes toward responsibility for the use of the soil. One of the chief factors in producing high relief rates in

some sections has been the loss of soil fertility or the actual loss of the soil through erosion from water or wind. The evils of soil erosion have long been observed in the South, but no general attack on the problem had been made until the Federal Government undertook its comprehensive surveys of land use, and soil erosion surveys were made to show the seriousness of the problem. Simultaneously, the unprecedented droughts in the Western Great Plains resulted in the creation of the Dust Bowl, in which there were unheard of losses through wind erosion.

As a phase of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program, there has been developed a system of compensation for soil conservation and soil improvement practices, which has formed an incentive to farmers to give more thought to the prevention of soil depletion and to soil improvement. As a result of these and other factors, there is growing up slowly among American farmers a new attitude concerning their responsibility for the maintenance of the soil. The old doctrine that he who owned the land could do with it as he pleased is gradually giving way to a theory of trusteeship, and here and there are to be found farmers who feel that, although they would not favor government ownership, the government should have the right to control or take over temporarily land which is being seriously neglected or abused. That the farmer should be a trustee of the soil has long been advocated by the prophets of agriculture, such as Liberty Hyde Bailey.⁸ The common control of the land is an ancient right of the rural community, although forgotten in this country since the early colonies in Massachusetts, but it required the pinch of the depression over large areas of formerly fertile soil to make men recognize that no nation can survive which squanders its soil. This is not in itself a social problem, but its implications will have a considerable effect upon the social organization of rural life.

3. *Rural Social Work.* Prior to the World War, there was little organized social work in rural communities in this country. The Red Cross introduced Home Service for the families of enlisted men and later extended its work to civilians in some counties, but until the industrial depression only a small fraction of the rural counties had any adequate organization for welfare work. The assumption of responsibility for relief by the Federal Government and its requirement of a county unit for local administration put rural social work on the map and the cost of this work rose from a minor item of the county budget to second or third place, along with roads and schools.

⁸ See his *The Holy Earth* (New York, 1915).

For the first time, rural people came to get some knowledge of the fact that unwise relief often does as much harm as good, and they commenced to see some of the values of social case work, although their reaction to the introduction of professional social workers was by no means uniformly favorable. They became aware that, on the one hand, there are a considerable number of relief cases which should be cared for at public expense, which previously had been largely neglected, and that, on the other hand, it is better to make an investment in the rehabilitation of families which are competent to make their own living than to merely give them relief.

The rehabilitation agents, first appointed by the F.E.R.A. and now under the Farm Security Board of the United States Department of Agriculture, have done a worth-while job, but have revealed the fact that the qualifications for this type of work should be a combination of those of the social welfare worker and the agricultural extension agent. This combination rarely exists and the new type of rural public welfare worker will have to be trained for the job.⁴ The extension workers in agriculture and home economics lack the essential knowledge of social case work, and are already fully occupied with dealing with farm families who do not need case work, while the social welfare workers lack a knowledge of agricultural and rural life. Notable advances have been made in the training of rural social workers, but it is questionable whether the average school of social work, located in a city and dealing with urban conditions, can successfully meet the need. Two or three schools of social work at state universities are specializing in this field, but there will need to be a considerable expansion of such training courses at other state universities and land grant colleges before the problem will be met satisfactorily. That there is an appreciation of this need is attested by a recent resolution of a conference of presidents of state universities and land grant colleges of the Northwest, who invited their national organization to make a thorough study of the need for an expansion of such training courses at their institutions. The depression has definitely created the professional field of rural social work.

4. *Tenancy*. Although there is a general impression that the depression increased the amount of farm tenancy, the 1935 Census of Agriculture shows that the proportion of tenants did not increase from 1930 to 1935. This does not mean, however, that the tenancy problem is not

⁴ Cf. Josephine C. Brown, *The Rural Community and Social Case Work*, Family Welfare Association of America (New York, 1933), chap. V, and particularly p. 71.

more serious than ever, for the proportion remained stationary because many share tenants had become farm laborers, and many owners had declined to the status of tenants.

It has long been known that rural communities with a high percentage of tenants have poorer institutions because of the mobility of tenants, but the studies made of relief clients during the industrial depression and the fact that tenants formed a large proportion of those needing relief drew attention to the handicaps of the tenant families and, particularly, to the dire condition of the sharecroppers of the South. The public conscience has been aroused as never before to the practical serfdom of large masses of white Southern croppers, whose condition is relatively more precarious than that of the Negroes. As a result, we have had the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (Public No. 210, 75th Congress, Chapter 517, 1st Session) entitled 'to create the Farmers' Home Corporation, to promote more secure occupancy of farms and farm homes, to correct the instability resulting from some present forms of farm tenancy, and for other purposes'; and a constructive policy of gradually working out a solution of this problem with governmental aid and supervision.

In this connection it is important to note that the proportion of farm products used by the farm family decreases with the proportion of tenancy. Thus, in a scatter diagram of 489 counties in the Corn Belt, Turner⁵ shows that "there is a decided relationship between the degree of commercialism in the agriculture and the percentage of farms operated by tenants. The smaller proportion of farm products which are used by the farm family, the higher the rate of tenancy." The same fact has been brought out by Wooster⁶ in his study of tenants on cotton plantations, in which he finds that the net income of the tenant family increases with the amount received as income from home use production, and that this is inversely related to the proportion of the acreage in cotton (the income from products used at home decreasing with the proportion of acreage in cotton). Tenancy, therefore, decreases the subsistence values of farming, whereas one of the chief values of living on

⁵ H. A. Turner, "A Graphic Summary of Farm Tenure," United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 261*, Washington, D. C., 1936, fig. 64, p. 43.

⁶ T. J. Wooster, Jr., and others, "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph 5*, Washington, D. C., 1936, p. 84 and Appendix Table 40.

the land should be in the opportunity for the farm family to grow part of its living and thus to have greater security.

The tenancy problem is so complex that it will not be solved in the near future, but it is being attacked more earnestly than ever before and it seems probable that the work inaugurated as a result of the present depression may result in establishing a new policy looking toward the decrease of tenancy and the betterment of the tenants' status.

5. *Rural Education.* One important fact revealed by the studies of relief families in rural areas is the high proportion of illiteracy and lack of schooling among them, which undoubtedly is related to their dependency, and which limits the possibility of their rehabilitation. This is particularly noticeable in the South, but it is true of the whole country. In the counties studied in the survey of rural problem areas Beck and Forster found that "one-half of the Negro family heads and one-fifth of the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt report no schooling, and four-fifths of the Negroes and about one-half of the whites had less than five years. Although the percentage of family heads with no schooling in the Appalachian-Ozark Area was less than for whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt, the proportion that had completed fewer than five grades (56 per cent) was larger."

It is obvious from all of the studies made that any permanent improvement in the condition of the type of people who are relief clients must involve their better education.

The depression has also shown the need for better educational facilities through the larger number of youth who have been prevented from migrating to cities and who, therefore, seek more schooling at home. This has increased the school population in many communities least able to support it.

Both of these factors have contributed to the demand for federal aid for education in the states with least ability to support public education. This has been embodied in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, recently transmitted to the Congress by the President,⁷ which advocates that there be liberal federal aid for public schools on a basis of equalizing the cost to the poorer states, and that this aid be on a basis which will lead to the reorganization of rural school districts so as to

⁷ P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, "Six Rural Problem Areas," Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Research Section, *Research Monograph 1*, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 90.

⁸ *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, House Document 529, 1938.

give better school facilities through consolidation of rural schools and the better support of rural high schools.

A very extensive investigation of the rural school system in New York State made by the Regents' Committee of Inquiry is to be published shortly and will also advocate a thorough reorganization of rural school facilities. These and other similar studies will undoubtedly result in some measure of federal aid and in a general movement for the improvement of rural education. An important aspect of this movement from the sociological standpoint is that making the rural school district a community unit and making the rural school a community center are specifically advocated, and the part which rural sociologists may play in the redistricting of rural areas is pointed out by the President's Advisory Committee. The final results of this whole movement will doubtless be as far-reaching in their effects on rural life as the report of the Roosevelt Country Life Commission and the subsequent enactment of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes Acts establishing federal aid for extension work in agriculture and home economics and for vocational education in secondary schools.

6. *Collective Action.* The old individualism of farmers has been breaking down rapidly since the World War, as shown by the steady growth of farmers' co-operative associations; but the industrial depression convinced them that only through collective action could they obtain a parity with other industrial groups. Although they had been solidifying during the previous decade, as shown by the support of the McNary-Haugen Bill and the Federal Farm Board Act, the industrial depression brought them into a united front as never before and they became one of the chief pressure groups seeking national legislation, which culminated in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. This has had the support of both the leading farmers' organizations, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange; the former being the more radical and more influential, and the latter the more conservative and critical.

There is still, however, a widespread distrust of the permanent economic salvation of agriculture through federal legislation. The parallel between the evolution of the thinking of organized agriculture and of union labor is an interesting one, which has never been adequately investigated. The solution of labor problems through the economic strength of trade unionism has been one of the fundamental policies of the American Federation of Labor, and only recently, with the meteoric rise of the

C. I. O., has it been willing to support social security legislation, the National Labor Relations Board, and minimum wage and hours legislation. Farmers have had much the same attitudes and have long looked to the growth of co-operative associations as the means of obtaining economic bargaining power. In spite of overrapid and unwise organization of co-operatives in the early twenties and of the later unsuccessful attempt of the Federal Farm Board to subsidize regional and national co-operatives, they have shown a steady growth which does not seem, as yet, to have been retarded by the work of the A.A.A. Whether the policies of benefit payments inaugurated by the A.A.A. will result in building up a political movement which will demand the continuance of government benefits to agriculture, with all the consequences which that makes possible, it is too early to predict; but it seems highly probable. In any event, farmers are convinced that only through some sort of legislation which will support their collective action can they obtain their share of the national income.

7. *Regionalism.* The problems arising in the administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act have shown that there is a very distinct danger in dependence upon federal legislation and administration, with no co-ordinate and supporting state legislation which will make possible a decentralization of administration. In general, state departments of agriculture have been largely manned by political appointees and have never built up an expert civil service comparable to that of the federal department of agriculture or of the state agricultural colleges. This has resulted in the state administration of the A.A.A. being tied up with state and county committees which are the creatures of and associated with the state agricultural extension services—an opportunistic arrangement which has obvious advantages to meet the existing situation, but which may have serious consequences for the permanent efficiency of the extension service as an educational agency.

However this may be, the issues involved in the conflicting interests of different parts of the country soon demonstrated that this country is entirely too large for any uniform policies and that various regions must be dealt with according to their needs. Thus the administrative problems and the new surveys of land-use and of agricultural regions, have all been conducive to a study of regional differences and to bringing the states in different regions together for a common solution of their needs. The Eastern and Western Cotton belts, the Corn Belt, the northeastern area of dairying and general farming, the Spring Wheat and Winter

Wheat areas of the great plains, the range country, and the Pacific Coast have common interests, which not infrequently conflict with those of other regions. The agricultural situation has, therefore, lent support to the studies of the National Resources Committee and others of the importance of regional organization and has confirmed the prophetic insight of Frederick J. Turner⁹ as to the future rôle of regionalism in this country.

8. *Conclusion.* Such are some of the major problems of rural life which have been brought to an issue by the depression. In the main, they have been economic and political, but in them all there has been a searching reconsideration of the fundamental values of rural life, of the objectives of rural social organization, and an appreciation of the rôle which sociological analysis and interpretation may have in their solution which is encouraging to those of us who have been attempting to accumulate data and devise methods for this purpose.

⁹ *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 158-159.

The Characteristics and Mobility of Rural Physicians: A Study of Six Wisconsin Counties¹

Harold Maslow

ABSTRACT

The study was undertaken to test in a sample area certain indices of the distribution and mobility of rural physicians. In the area selected, during a 24-year period, while the population changed but little, the number of physicians in proportion to the population decreased by 23 per cent, resulting from a movement of 203 physicians into the area, 156 out, and 82 deaths or retirements. An average mobility rate of over 11 per cent a year was found. The mobility rate was greater in the older age groups and in the smaller communities. A considerable number of physicians were graduates of low-grade medical schools, the proportion of these, however, substantially decreased during the period. The trend from 1912 to 1936 was towards an older average age. Over half of the physicians moving into the area during this period were not recent graduates but came from other places of practice—about two-thirds coming from rural places (under 2,500 population) and only about one-third from cities. Of the recent graduates who moved into the area between 1912 and 1936, a higher percentage eventually moved away than remained.

These indices require further investigation.

INTRODUCTION

From the data on the physicians in the United States published by the American Medical Association in its Directory a number of studies¹ have been made of physicians in proportion to population and of their distribution in urban and rural districts.

The *Directory of Physicians* has been revised every second or third year since 1906. It gives the following information for each doctor:

Name

Age

Name of medical school from which graduated

Date of graduation

Date of licensure

Membership in medical societies, if any

Specialty, if any

Teaching position, if any

Address

¹ See Bibliography.

The doctors are classified geographically by states and cities. In addition there is an alphabetical index of the doctors by their names, from which any change in status or address as listed in a prior Directory can be ascertained. The procedure in previous studies has been to take a cross-section of the sample at a given date or several such cross-sections at different dates. In one study, for example, the 1930 A. M. A. Directory was consulted, and the distribution of the doctors in North Dakota according to the size of place in which they were practicing was noted. Various items of the data given in the Directory concerning each physician have been correlated. However, it was felt that these previous studies had not fully utilized the rich offerings of the Directory.

Briefly, the findings of previous statistical studies of the distribution of physicians between country and city have shown:

1. There has been for many years a greater number of doctors (proportionate to population) in the cities than in the country.
2. The trend since 1906 has been towards an increase in this disproportion.
3. For the Nation as a whole, the ratio of doctors to population has been growing wider; this national lag has been greater in the rural than in the urban areas.
4. The rural doctor is on the average older than the urban doctor.
5. There are more specialists in the cities than in the country.

The present study was undertaken to explore the value of a more detailed method of analysis of the information in the Directory as applied to a sample rural area.² For this purpose, six counties in Wisconsin were selected. Every physician, name by name, was followed in all his movements as recorded by each Directory, during the period from 1912 to 1936. Thus, more intimate information was obtained regarding the physicians in these counties than had been collated, to the best knowledge of this writer, in any preceding study of rural physicians. In addition, a more extensive cross-correlating of the Directory data has been attempted.

THE SIX COUNTIES

The sample area comprised six Wisconsin counties: Polk, Pepin, Iowa, Grant, Pierce, and Lafayette. The population of the whole sample was 132,542 in 1910; 136,564 in 1920; and 132,217 in 1930. There are two cities in the area with a total population somewhat under 7,000; other-

² The general method employed in this study was suggested by Dr. Michael M. Davis, Chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, and the work was conducted under the auspices of this Committee. The author is individually responsible for the analysis and conclusions.

wise, the residents live in places with fewer than 2,500 population. The average per capita assessed valuation (equalized) for the sample is \$1,283, varying from \$892 in Polk to \$1,825 in Lafayette.

MEDICAL EDUCATION OF DOCTORS IN THE SAMPLE

At the turn of the century the A. M. A. set up a grading system for medical schools. Grade A schools were considered excellent; B, fair but needed improvements; C were those to be closed. After 1928 the schools were graded simply as approved or nonapproved.

In this study the grading system of 1910 was used^a for all doctors who had graduated before that date. Two assumptions are herein made: (1) Medical schools are evaluated as of the first grading (1910); it is assumed that if in 1910 a medical school was Grade A, the same status was maintained prior to that time. (2) Medical schools that had never been of Grade A and that had either been closed or merged with another school are considered Grade C. All doctors in the sample who had graduated after 1928 came from an approved school and were, therefore, all considered Grade A.

Proportionately, there has been an increase in Grade A graduates in the sample. Whereas in 1912, 57 per cent of the practitioners were Grade A graduates, in 1936 the proportion rose to 66 per cent. Almost all the substandard schools were closed down during the second decade of this century; hence the number of graduates from low-grade schools in recent years has been small. For this and possibly other reasons, the problem has lessened within recent years, but since a third of all of the physicians in 1936 practicing in these counties came from substandard schools, it is still a real one.

There is a definite tendency for the graduates of the poorer schools to settle in smaller places within the sample. For the complete period 1912-1936, of the 204 physicians practicing in communities under 1,000 in population, 44 per cent came from Grade B and C schools. Of a total of 60 physicians practicing in communities of 1,000 to 1,750, 38 per cent came from substandard schools.

AGE OF THE PHYSICIAN

From 1912 to 1936 a growing proportion of older men was found. The modal age group for 1912 was 36-40; in 1936 it had become 61-65. The median age group in 1912 was 40-45, and in 1936, 50-55. Whereas in 1912, 32 per cent of the physicians in the sample were over 50, in

^a *Journal of the American Medical Association*, June 18, 1910, p. 2064.

1936, 57 per cent comprised this group. The age distribution of physicians can readily be seen from the following:

<i>Age of M D's</i>	1912	1921	1929	1936
	<i>Percentage</i>			
Under 35	24	16	8	17
36 50	44	44	36	26
Over 50	32	40	56	57

THE MEDICAL RECRUITS

There was a total of 203 moves into the sample areas between 1912 and 1936. Of this number only 86 were recent graduates at the time of their arrival, and 117 had practiced elsewhere for varying lengths of time before moving into the sample. Recent graduates as herein used are those doctors whose names did not appear in the immediately preceding A M A Directory. Should the definition of recent graduates be broadened so as to include those who had graduated less than five years before the given date, the mobility would very probably be reduced.

Analysis of the 117 doctors who were not recent graduates shows that 81 (70 per cent) had been practicing in rural towns before moving into the sample areas, and the remaining 36 (30 per cent) had come from urban places.

TABLE I
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEDICAL RECRUITS NOT RECENT GRADUATES
(1914-1936)

<i>Age Groups (years)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
20 30	13	11
31 40	46	40
41 50	25	21
51 60	21	18
61 70	7	6
Over 70	5	4
Total	117	100

The age distribution of the recruits who had been in practice before moving into the sample areas (their ages at the time of the move) shows that 28 per cent of them were over 50 years of age. The modal age group in this age-distribution-of-moves table is 31-40. There were actually 12 doctors (10 per cent) over 61 who moved into the sample areas.

It is of interest to trace the recent graduates who moved in. Of the 86,

56 per cent had moved away before 1936, 7 per cent had retired or died, and 37 per cent were still in the sample in 1936

TABLE II
TREND IN TYPES OF MEDICAL RECRUITS

Class of M D s	DIRECTORY OF YEAR							
	1914		1921		1929		1936	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Recent Graduates	11	46	5	21	6	30	11	69
Already in Practice	13	54	19	79	14	70	5	31
Totals	24	100	24	100	20	100	16	100

Table II shows the trend in recruitment, indicating that only for 1936 was there a larger proportion of new graduates than of physicians who had already been in active practice for some time. In previous years a larger proportion of the recruits came from practice in other cities or rural communities rather than as recent graduates."

TABLE III
RECRUITS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE (1913-1936)

	Number	Percent
Recent Graduates	86	42
Moved from other place	117	58
Total	203	100
Moved from rural place	81	70
Moved from urban place	36	30
Subtotal	117	100

The 1936 recruitment picture, with its sudden increase in the proportion of recent graduates, falls in line with some evidence of such a new trend in the 1937 A M A study "Rural Medical Service" based on the 1936 A M A Directory. The study has too limited a statistical base (only those counties were used in which the ratio of population to doctors was higher than 2,000 to 1) to make it reliable, any more than is the present study with its small sample. Later A M A Directories can be consulted on this point if the more direct method of sending schedules to recent graduates of medical schools cannot be utilized.

DOCTORS' MOVES OUT OF THE AREA

An undue proportion of these outward moves were from places under 1,000. Our table points to these towns as the critical area in the problem of physician supply in rural areas.

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF MOVES OUT OF THE SAMPLE AREAS (1921-1936)

Age Groups (years)	Moves Out		Normal Distribution	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
20-30.....	20	13	37	7
31-40.....	50	32	129	26
41-50.....	28	18	123	24
51-60.....	35	23	108	22
61-70.....	15	9	9	15
Over 70.....	8	5	9	6
Totals ..	156	100	505	100

NOTE The normal distribution is based on an averaging of the 1912, 1921, 1929, and 1936 A. M. A. Directories.

Quite surprising was the revelation that 37 per cent of the moves out were by physicians 51 years of age or over; 14 per cent of the moves out were actually made by doctors over 60.

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF MOVES OUT OF SAMPLE AREAS BY SIZE OF TOWN
FROM WHICH MOVED (1912-1936)

Size of Place	Moves Out		Normal Distribution	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000.....	110	70	204	60
1000 to 1750.....	27	17	60	18
1750 to 2500.....	6	5	43	13
2500--over.....	13	8	30	9
Totals.....	156	100	337	100

Some 60 per cent of these doctors moved into other rural districts on leaving the sample areas. This percentage may be compared with the parallel figure (69 per cent) of the medical recruits (excluding recent graduates) who came from other rural places.

The hypothesis is suggested that there is a "rural type" of practitioner who has difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory rural practice, and who

TABLE VI
DOCTORS' MOVES OUT OF THE SAMPLE AREAS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF TOWN
TO WHICH THEY MOVED (1912-1936)

	To Rural Place		To Urban Place		Totals	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Moved from						
Rural Place.....	86	60	57	40	143	100
Urban Place	6	46	7	54	13	100
Totals.....	92	59	64	41	156	100

tries his luck again in another rural area instead of moving to a larger place. This "rural type" would account for 40 per cent of all the newcomers in our sample areas.

This significant category of physicians moving out of the sample areas needs a more elaborate analysis than was attempted in this study. Of the Directory data the most significant items for the analysis of those who moved out seemed to be age and place of practice, which were incorporated here. A more effective way of discovering why these doctors moved out would be to use personal questionnaires.

MOBILITY

The movement of physicians in and out of a given area is to be distinguished from the trend in the supply of physicians within the area. The trend in supply is a result of this mobility, plus the dropping out of physicians by reason of death or retirement. The mobility factor becomes

TABLE VII
AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF MOBILITY
(EXCLUDING M.D.'S WHO DROPPED OUT BECAUSE OF DEATH OR RETIREMENT) *

Items	1913-1921	1922-1929	1930-1936
I. Total number of moves in whole period.....	163	107	89
II. Average annual number of moves during period†.....	18 1	13 3	12.7
III. Average annual number of M. D.'s in sample	145	132	117
IV. Percentage.....	12	10	11

*Mobility rates refer to the number of actual moves in and out of the sample areas in proportion to the number of physicians in the sample areas at a given time.

†The various figures for Item II are obtained by dividing Item I by the number of years in each period of time. Item III is obtained by averaging the total M D.'s at each end of the period (1913 has 148 M.D.'s, 1921 has 142; therefore the average for 1913-1921 period is 145). Item IV is the ratio between Items II and III.

important for the proper comprehension of the trend. In rural medical economics, moreover, it has some independent significance.

A measure of mobility is the number of *moves* by doctors into and out of the sample, divided by the number of physicians present in the whole sample during the time in question. For certain purposes it might be necessary to measure all *changes* whether they are due to a change of location or to death or retirement. This latter figure may be called the turnover rate as distinguished from the mobility rate. The average *annual* mobility rate for the period 1913-1921 was found to be 12 per cent; for the period 1922-1929, 10 per cent; and for the period 1930-1936, 11 per cent. The *annual* turnover rates were 15 per cent, 13 per cent, and 14 per cent respectively.

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE ANNUAL TURNOVER RATE* (INCLUDING THE DROPPED OUT M.D.'S WITH THE DOCTORS WHO MOVED IN AND OUT OF THE SAMPLE AREAS)

<i>Items</i>	<i>1913-1921</i>	<i>1922-1929</i>	<i>1930-1936</i>
I. Total number of changes in whole period.....	190	137	114
II. Average annual number of changes during period†.....	21.1	17.2	16.4
III. Average annual number of M. D.'s in sample areas.....	145	132	117
IV. Percentage.....	15	13	14

*Turnover rates refer to the number of changes in doctors' locations (irrespective of whether they are willed or caused by death or retirement due to old age or infirmities) in proportion to the total number of physicians in the sample areas at the time in question.

†See footnote Table VII.

These figures do not represent the exact mobility and turnover because moves between the biennial and triennial editions of the Directory are not recorded, and at best they give a conservative picture of the situation.

No trend towards a decrease or increase of the mobility and the turnover rates is discernible for the period 1913 to 1936.

When turnover and mobility were computed by the grade of medical school of the moving doctors, no important difference appeared in the rates for Grade A, B, and C schools.

Mobility seems to vary with the size of town, being larger for the smaller places.

Mobility seems to be greater in the ages under 40, but is surprisingly high even in the ages over 50.

Heretofore it has been generally assumed that a continuous personal relationship exists between rural doctors and patients. Because of sup-

TABLE IX
MOBILITY IN RELATION TO SIZE OF TOWN (1912-1936)

Size of Place	Normal Distribution		Moves Into Sample		Moves Out of Sample	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000	204	60	129	64	110	71
1000 to 1750	60	18	41	20	27	17
1750 to 2500	43	13	18	9	6	4
2500—over	30	9	15	7	13	8
Total	337	100	203	100	156	100

TABLE IX—Continued

Size of Place	Dropped Out of Sample		Total Moves		Total Changes	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000	42	52	239	67	281	63
1000 to 1750	17	21	68	19	85	19
1750 to 2500	16	20	24	7	40	9
0—over	7	7	28	7	35	9
Total	82	100	359	100	441	100

posedly extended contacts with his patients, the rural doctor is classically pictured as a kindly healer having intimate knowledge of the lives of his patients. This is a real force towards producing a strong doctor-patient relationship, but an excessive flux in the professional group, such as is shown in this study, would weaken or entirely cancel this beneficial effect. The little town of Potosi in Grant County will serve as an illustration, even if it be not representative. From 1912 to 1936 seven different doctors came and went. Potosi obviously was no more fertile a soil for the growth of good doctor-patient relationship than would be a large city.

Mobility is important enough to change the present emphasis of rural medical planners from the question, "How can we attract new medical graduates to rural areas?" to the question, "How can we retain our rural doctors in their communities?"

Mobility investigations can perhaps shed some light on a paramount issue of rural planning, i.e., what is the proper size of a community for the maintenance of medical service? As Brunner and Lorge point out, the absence of knowledge on this point has held up practical solutions because a trial and error method is usually not appealing.⁴

⁴ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York, 1937), p. 368.

The hypothesis elsewhere suggested, that there is a "rural type" of practitioner who moves about from one rural place to another, should be investigated in any consideration of mobility in rural practice. Such men accounted for as much as 40 per cent of the recruits in our sample.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Further investigation into the field of mobility of physicians may be fruitfully undertaken. Of several studies, one could be made of the distribution of physicians from 1906 to 1936, making use of all available items. These should be correlated on a countrywide sample.

Possibly a part of a large sample could be worked up by the horizontal cross-section method, using each Directory from 1906 to 1936, to obtain information on mobility.

Mr. Earl S. Johnson, in his study of the distribution of physicians in Chicago,⁵ suggests a method of research correlating the distribution of physicians with the economic resources of various areas. A state-wide study could be developed along these lines.

More intensive studies, based along the lines of this investigation, might be undertaken in various localities. The Directory data should be supplemented by information gleaned by personal questionnaires.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The total of 147 doctors in the six counties listed in the sample for 1912 dropped to 114 by 1936, whereas the population remained substantially the same (about 132,000).

2. The total decrease of 35 physicians was accomplished by a movement of 441 physicians in the 24-year period. Two hundred and three moved into the area, 156 moved out, 82 died or retired.

3. The stability of these rural physicians is low. An average mobility rate of over 11 per cent a year was found. The continuity of doctor-patient relationships in these counties is much less than has been generally attributed to rural areas.

4. Greater mobility was found in the older age groups and in the smaller communities, particularly in those with a population under 1,000.

5. In 1936 a sizable portion of the doctors were graduates of low-grade medical schools. The proportion was larger in earlier years.

6. The trend from 1912 to 1936 was towards an older average age.

⁵ Earl S. Johnson, *A Study in the Ecology of the Physician* (a dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts, Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago; unpublished), Chicago, 1932.

7. A large portion (58 per cent) of the medical recruits were not recent graduates but had moved into the sample areas from other places of practice.

8. About two-thirds of these medical recruits who were not recent graduates had come from other rural places, whereas only about one-third had moved in from cities (up to 2,500 population is classed as "rural").

9. No significant tendency of these rural doctors to move to the cities could be found.

10. Of the recent graduates who moved into the area between 1912 and 1936, a higher percentage eventually moved away than remained.

11. A number of other indices investigated gave negative results.

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Rural Housing Problem in the South¹

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ABSTRACT

The rural housing problem in the South is one of long standing. Chief factors responsible for this problem are climate, farm income, high Negro ratios, farm tenancy, and small farms.

The rural housing problem has received scanty attention, at home and abroad. Main sources of information are 1930 *Census of Agriculture*, 1934 Survey of Rural Housing, and a few local studies. There is a vast amount of literature on urban housing and many countries are spending vast sums to remedy urban housing problems.

Much pessimism exists as to possibilities of remedying rural housing conditions, especially for low income farm groups. The main suggestions are to subsidize housing for low income groups, extend F. H. A. into rural fields, carry on work begun by Resettlement Administration, expand the program of the Farm Security Administration, and encourage self-help among farmers themselves through educational programs and otherwise.

An outstanding accomplishment abroad has been the erection of some 60,000 cottages for Irish farm laborers. Their plan, modified, could be employed as a partial solution to our rural housing problem.

We have all heard reiterated many times the statement that one-third of the population of the nation is ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-housed. The ratio for the rural South must then be much higher than one-third, since by all standards of measurement the farm people of the South who comprise one-half of all the farm people of the United States are the worst housed, and perhaps also the worst clothed and worst fed, of any large-sized group of people in the United States. The situation is not new to the South. Dr. Youngblood in a letter on this subject to the writer pointed out that Olmsted, who visited the South before the Civil War, described some very low planes of living from Virginia to Texas. A few people in the South at that time were well housed, and a modest percentage of farm families in the South today enjoy adequate housing, but the vast majority of Southern farm people are not adequately housed, and a considerable percentage live in filthy hovels unfit for human habitation. Let us assume for the time that there is a rural housing problem in the South. This will be verified statistically later on.

I have been impressed with the scarcity of literature on farm housing

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not only in the South but in all of the United States. Interest in improved housing generally has developed only during the last few years, and interest in farm housing remains mainly academic at the present time. Very little has been done to remedy farm housing conditions, although vast sums have been provided as a national undertaking to improve urban housing.

The situation in the United States is somewhat parallel to that in Europe. A large number of European countries have been engaged in improving urban housing for a number of years. Hundreds of thousands of urban houses have been provided in Europe and there is a vast amount of literature on this subject in various European countries. However, in this literature there is scarcely a reference to farm housing. The countries that have engaged extensively in improved urban housing programs are Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Italy, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland, and Germany. Activities in these countries have been briefed in various reports from the International Labor Office and in other publications. It is true that many European countries have promoted farm ownership and, of course, improved farm housing has resulted from these extensive efforts to convert tenants into owners. However, there has been very little attack on the farm housing problem as a separate proposition. Perhaps the most thorough single job has been in connection with improved housing for Irish farm laborers which will be referred to later on.

FACTORS IN FARM HOUSING IN THE SOUTH

It will be well to recall a few of the main factors responsible for the generally poor condition of farm housing in the South. One important, but ameliorative, factor is the relatively mild climate which makes it possible for people to be moderately comfortable in houses less substantial and with fewer comforts and conveniences than would be tolerable in areas of the United States where the climate is more rigorous.

Another important factor is farm income. Various rules have been laid down as to the ratio that should exist between income and housing expenditure. It appears from the available data that Southern farmers spend relatively as much of their income on dwellings as do the farmers of other regions of the United States. The difficulty in the South is that the per-farm income is too low to enable farmers to be housed comfortably. One correspondent has suggested that farmers of the South be resigned to their uncomfortable dwellings for the simple reason that they

cannot afford much better than they now possess. Another writer suggests that the farm dwellings of the South are largely the result of habit, and that actually farm families can afford more comfortable dwellings, especially if they will show personal initiative in utilizing their spare time and available resources to improve their housing conditions.

Another important factor, and one frequently considered the most important, is farm tenancy. More than half of all Southern farmers are full tenants. Poor housing has been associated with tenancy from time immemorial and the situation will probably continue to exist indefinitely. It is too much to expect that tenants will be supplied with dwellings beyond the quality that takes care of the minimum requirement of protection from the elements and space for the family. The gulf that exists between the quality of farm dwellings occupied by owners and tenants is wider in the South than elsewhere in the United States. Indeed it is generally difficult to distinguish between owner dwellings and tenant dwellings in many of the Northern and Western states. In the South one can be fairly certain as to which house is occupied by the landowner and which is occupied by the tenant.

Another major factor in farm housing is the large Negro element in the agricultural South. It is probably true that Negro tenants are even more poorly housed than white tenants and certainly Negro landowners of small farms are more poorly housed than white landowners.

Associated with tenancy in the South is the cropping system which makes it possible for the tenants to move as frequently as they desire. Approximately 40 per cent of all tenants in the South move every year. Obviously the cropper nomad will make no effort to improve the house in which he dwells only temporarily. It is more likely that he will leave a dwelling in worse shape than he finds it. One is optimistic indeed to expect much improvement in housing for these wanderers.

And finally, the value of farm dwellings is closely associated with the size of the farm, especially improved land per farm, which is a main factor in farm income. However, there are exceptions, as in New England where farms are fairly small but farm dwellings rank at or near the top in the United States.

FACTS ABOUT RURAL HOUSING IN THE SOUTH

The main sources of data on farm housing are the 1930 *Census of Agriculture*, which carried data on value of farm dwellings and certain facts about home comforts and conveniences; the *Farm and Village*

Housing Report, Volume VII of the President's (Hoover) Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership; and the 1934 Survey of Rural Housing in the United States, made under the supervision of the United States Department of Agriculture, which covered 43 states and more than 622,000 farm dwellings.

The most recent general data on the value of farm dwellings appear in the 1930 *Census of Agriculture*. Such data are not reported in the 1935 *Census of Agriculture*, nor in the 1934 Survey of Rural Housing. The 1930 *Census of Agriculture* shows that the Southern states fall in almost a solid group at the bottom in the value of farm dwellings. The range for this solid group is from Florida with \$807 per dwelling, to Mississippi with \$377 per dwelling. Virginia is the only Southern state which does not fall in this group, her rank being twenty-third with a value slightly higher than the national average of \$1,126. New Mexico is the only non-Southern state to fall in this group. Five Southern states have farm dwellings averaging less than \$500 in value. As a matter of fact, approximately one-half of all farm dwellings in the South in 1930 were valued at less than \$500. The price level in 1930 was higher than it is today, which means that the value of farm dwellings today would be less than that reported in the 1930 Census. The low value of farm dwellings in the South, to repeat, is associated with the size of farms, low farm income, and especially farm tenancy and Negro population. All studies dealing with this matter emphasize these points. A study of sample counties in Texas, South Carolina, and Arkansas in 1930 shows that the average value of dwellings occupied by owners was \$975 and the average value occupied by tenants was \$352. The average for Texas in both instances is considerably above the average for the South generally. Hundreds of thousands of tenant houses in the South have a value of less than \$300 each, and a large percentage below \$200 each in value.

While the value of the dwellings is the main measure of housing conditions, it is not the only factor. The 1930 *Census of Agriculture* and the 1934 Farm Housing Survey contain many data dealing with farm home comforts and conveniences. A summary of the data based on the 1934 Survey appears at the end of this paper.

The 1930 Census showed that the ratio of farm dwellings having electric lights was 3.0 per cent in the East South Central states, 3.6 per cent in the West South Central states, and 6.1 per cent in the South Atlantic states. For the other divisions of the United States the percent-

ages ranged from 13.2 in the West North Central states to 59.9 in the Pacific states.

Roughly 5 per cent of all farm dwellings in the three Southern divisions had piped water in the dwellings. For the other divisions the range was from 16.2 per cent in the West North Central states to 63.9 per cent in the New England states.

Approximately 3.5 per cent of farm dwellings in the three Southern divisions had bathrooms, while the ratios for the other divisions ranged from 8.5 per cent in the West North Central states to 43.2 per cent in the Pacific Coast states. Roughly 10 per cent of farms in the South had telephones and approximately 50 per cent of all farms in the United States outside of the South had telephones.

A recent study on this subject by Dorothy Dickins² contains many interesting data. One item states that there were no toilet facilities on 50 per cent of all farms surveyed, white and black, rich and poor. Three-fifths of the white families on poor soil had no toilet facilities and approximately three-fourths of the Negro families on poor land had no toilet facilities. One-fifth of the white families on good land and one-half of Negro families on good land had no toilet facilities. Three-fourths of all farm homes surveyed had no screens whatsoever.

"A Report on Rural Housing in Louisiana," by Ellen LeNoir and Lynn Smith,³ based on the 1934 Survey of Farm Housing, and covering 16,403 dwellings in Louisiana, shows that nearly one-fifth of all farm homes surveyed had no toilet facilities. It seems to be the custom in Louisiana for two or more families, usually tenants, to share toilet facilities.

A study by Dr. Rupert Vance, entitled "How the Other Half Lives," *Southern Policy Papers No. IV*, is valuable both for its brief, pointed comments and its excellent photographs. Dr. Vance stresses the general ignorance of people about farm housing conditions; the facts which prove the Cotton Belt to have the worst farm housing in the United States, and the contribution of tenancy to the bad housing situation. The following is a quotation from this report:

The dwellings of many small owners in the South fall below minimum standards, but in the large, the rural housing problem is a phase of the South's tenant problem. Farm tenant houses are essentially laborers' cottages, the construction and upkeep of which are entirely in the hands of the landlords. Along with firewood, housing is one of the perquisites furnished the tenant and his family while

² "Family Living on Poor and Better Soils," Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 320*, 1937.

³ Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 290*, August, 1937.

they make a crop. The best tenant houses are likely to be unpainted clapboarded cottages of four rooms, ceiled inside and papered with old newspapers. With no shade around the house, the yard may be a hot sandy little plot of ground with a dug well, usually open and unprotected. Often the house is unscreened and open to the flies, gnats, and mosquitoes.

In a pioneer study, E. C. Branson spoke of the farm tenant as being able to study astronomy through the roof and geology through the floor of his shack. In the worst houses the croppers and share tenants are likely to live in two-room cabins, hot in the summer and almost impossible to heat in the winter. Daylight may show between cracks, and the cabin may leak in stormy weather and leave the floor damp for several days after. One investigation showed tenants had little concern as to whether their houses were painted; they worried as to whether the roof might leak or cracks in the wall let in winter winds. Heating is usually supplied by a wood-burning stove in the kitchen, supplemented by a fireplace in the bedroom.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

We now come to a consideration of what can be done to improve the farm housing situation in the South. Most of the people with whom I have talked on this subject have been extremely pessimistic with regard to constructive action. The main suggestion has been to get the Federal Housing Act enlarged or expanded to include farm housing. However, the Chairman of the Federal Housing Administration in a recent article in *Current History* pays only scant attention to the problem of housing rural groups, dismissing the topic as being beyond the scope of the Federal Housing Act, and he intimates that it is largely beyond the realm of possibility. He says, "The strictly rural group which cannot pay an 'economic' rent—'dust bowl' farmers, sharecroppers, etc.—present the most difficult of all housing problems. Only the rim of this problem has been touched."

He further states that the problem of housing families with incomes of as little as \$1,500 is largely a matter of improving the technique of production and distribution while the problem of housing families whose income is less than \$1,500 is beyond the scope of the work contemplated in the United States Housing Authority Act. Obviously this eliminates a vast majority of Southern farmers, especially those who need better housing. A further quotation from Mr. Straus is pertinent:

When we discuss housing for really low-income groups, the shift is necessary from emphasis upon reducing costs to a dual emphasis upon reducing costs and raising incomes. No foreseeable improvement in techniques, for example, will bring decent new housing to the family with an income of less than \$1,000 per year.

He suggests that the Government might subsidize housing for low-income groups and cites as precedent for such action the subsidies granted in various European countries.

Among the agencies which the Federal Government has established to improve housing is the Federal Home Loan Bank Board with assets of considerably more than three billions of dollars. Through its Federal Home Loan Bank System it provides the same services to savings and loan associations, savings banks, and insurance companies as the Federal Reserve System does for commercial banks. The facilities provided by this Board have been widely used to provide housing for those who are able to own their own homes. Second, and more widely publicized, is the Federal Housing Administration, whose principal function is to insure mortgages. This agency has already exerted a profound influence on building practice in this country. A recent act has authorized the Federal Housing Administration to insure mortgages held by private lending agencies for advancing capital for construction and home purchases not exceeding two billion dollars but the President may add an additional one billion dollars if necessary. This legislation provides for a down payment of only 10 per cent on appraised value of home construction projects up to \$6,000. The government would insure 90 per cent of the mortgage up to \$6,000, and 80 per cent thereafter. The mortgages are to be amortized over a period of from 20 to 25 years.

The amended F.H.A. extends the activities of that organization into rural and semi-rural mortgage guarantees, making Federal credit available on favorable terms. Whether or not private agencies will take advantage of these financial arrangements to build farm dwellings remains to be seen. It may be that the plan will have to be materially liberalized in terms of lower interest rates and better adjusted to the peculiar needs of farmers. There is no valid reason why farm homes cannot be built under this plan.

The Resettlement Administration while it lasted was interested in improving housing for farm people especially those with low income. The March (1938) issue of the *Annals* contains an article by Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick dealing with the Housing Aspects of Resettlement. He brings out the point that the Resettlement Administration was interested not only in helping people to move from land which is too poor to yield them the essentials of a minimum living, but it was also interested in locating these people in properly planned and well-constructed dwellings. He reports 86 projects carried on by the Resettlement Administra-

tion for the relocation of approximately 10,000 rural families. More than 6,000 of these dwellings had been built or were under construction a year ago. These houses of modest size and convenient layout are planned to meet adequately the needs of the farm family in the varying conditions over the country. The occupants of these rural resettlement homes are paying for them on a long-term, 40-year basis at 3 per cent interest. Some of the houses are grouped according to the community plan to make possible the provision of various services and co-operative facilities, as in the Dyess Colony, Arkansas, and Penderlea Homesteads, North Carolina. Others are on separate farms apart from each other in districts or communities already settled, usually on tracts of good land which have lacked full development from the owners who live there or are ready to retire elsewhere. Less spectacular, but perhaps of more value, were the loans made to farmers which enabled them to make improvements in the dwellings which they occupy.

The Resettlement Administration was absorbed by the Farm Security Administration which will complete the programs inherited and initiated by the Resettlement Administration. In a recent letter Captain R. B. Lord states that

The most constructive suggestion that can be offered in the light of the experience of the Farm Security Administration in providing rural housing accommodations, is that those provided be within the means of the rural individual who is to be served.

To be within the means of the average southern rural citizen at present, housing accommodations must be extremely cheap. Therefore, the problem resolves itself into two phases which are: first, the design of housing facilities at the absolute minimum in cost; and second, the increase of the buying power of the southern rural citizen. These two phases of the general problem are closely interlocked in that the income level in southern rural communities is in general below that which will permit the minimum expenditure for housing which will amortize the lowest cost house which has so far been built.

With this in mind, the construction forces of the Farm Security Administration imposed upon themselves the responsibility to provide the lowest cost housing units possible.

The first move was to cut out the bathroom; the second, to eliminate running water except where it could be provided at very little expense; and the third, to provide no part of a housing unit which was not an absolute essential.

In the course of events, technicians of the Farm Security Administration developed a steel house entirely based on the above general philosophy and the above general principles. It is hoped that private manufacturing enterprises will go further with this in the future, because this particular design is extremely well

adapted to assembly in rural areas where the construction skills are very much lacking.

The experienced construction organization which has been built up and which has solved most of the problems with regard to actual production of low-cost housing is to be liquidated by June 30, 1938. Thereafter there will remain the Farm Tenant Bill provisions which make available federal money to be loaned to farmers to buy farms and make such improvements as are needed. Incidentally if a dent is to be made on the tenant problem the funds provided will have to be multiplied many times over. Whoever originated the expression about the mountain being in labor to produce a mouse anticipated the Farm Security Act, especially that part of it designed to make owners out of tenants.

Since the major farm-housing problem in the South is in connection with the dwellings occupied by tenants we are faced with the problem of what can be done to improve housing for tenant farmers. One can simply suggest that the Federal Government subsidize housing for this great mass of humanity. It might not be stupid to suggest that the Government go so far as to advance funds to landlords to be used to build and renovate farm dwellings to be repaid without interest. Or even further to suggest that, in addition to this, improvements made by landlords be exempted from local taxation for a period of years. It seems to me that a liberal program headed by the Federal Government could do much to put people to work on constructive activities and at the end of such a program we might have a few hundred thousand livable cottages in the South to show for our expenditure. Such a program would create employment and vastly stimulate the sale of building materials. If we really want to stimulate business, this seems to be a sound proposition. It certainly is not out of line with what has been done in several European countries, notably in Ireland, where farm cottages have been built by state subsidy and further subsidized through local property taxation.

I think it pertinent to summarize briefly the Irish accomplishment. These people have at least demonstrated that poor farm housing can be remedied, if there's a will to do it. During the period from 1883 to 1935, Irish local councils have erected nearly 60,000 cottages for rural laborers and have also purchased other cottages and put them in repair. In addition to these, other cottages have been constructed or repaired by landlords, tenants, tenant purchasers, and the public utility societies with or without public grants. Efforts have been made to do away with dilapidated and unsanitary dwellings and a good council cottage system is

TABLE I
RESULTS FARM HOUSING SURVEY, SPRING 1934
STUDY COVERS 622,413 FARM HOUSES 43 STATES
(Advanced data supplied by U S D A)

STATE	Total Number Houses Studied	Under 10 Yrs	Over 50 Yrs	Prepon- derating Type Frame	One Story	Average Number Rooms	Average Number Occupants per Room	Water Supply in House	Bath Tub	Kitchen Sink with Drain	Elec- tricity	Central Heat	Refrig- eration	Stoves (excl. Wood or Coal)	Power Washing Machine
Alabama	21 438	19	10	94	90	4	1 26	3	1	3	3	09	10	2	13
Arizona	840	56	2	69	9	3	1 2	41	15	31	16	24	64	26	16
California	14 17	23	8	93	80	5	2	91	68	8	88	4	48	62	48
Colorado	9 664	15	2	83	75	5	95	29	12	28	17	5	21	38	26
Connecticut	1 724	9	71	9	11	9	54	77	33	95	49	34	67	45	23
Delaware	2 000	8	33	99	4	7	60	86	9	58	19	5	50	48	15
Florida	13 068	39	4	94	86	5	90	44	21	28	27	48	52	42	5
Georgia	33 139	10	14	9	93	4	1 18	6	2	3	3	09	19	4	09
Idaho	4 458	16	3	91	61	5	93	32	17	36	34	4	32	22	46
Illinois	21 318	7	38	94	28	7	66	50	16	51	20	26	30	50	44
Indiana	15 755	7	35	91	22	7	61	52	14	49	24	18	22	58	36
Iowa	18 763	6	29	96	11	7	63	56	19	54	27	29	18	52	64
Kansas	17 929	11	17	94	41	6	0	36	18	42	18	11	42	65	39
Kentucky	22 314	13	26	8	50	5	91	11	16	11	9	3	30	20	7
Louisiana	16 402	23	12	98	97	4	1 18	7	4	4	5	06	12	11	19
Maine	2 769	3	79	98	5	8	49	7	17	98	57	21	61	16	29
Maryland	7 547	7	50	85	3	8	53	36	16	33	27	13	44	46	24
Massachusetts	2 062	6	73	97	4	10	46	95	44	97	71	43	74	40	45
Michigan	17 025	10	35	89	15	6	57	61	14	66	31	29	21	51	35
Minnesota	17 310	13	14	88	14	6	80	45	7	39	14	20	16	37	45
Missouri	28 136	16	17	91	51	5	85	18	8	19	15	7	31	43	14
Montana	4 053	17	4	84	56	5	87	31	13	32	20	6	27	12	33

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

STATE	Total Number Houses Studied	Under 10 Yrs	Over 50 Yrs	Prebon- derating Type Frame	One Story	Average Number Rooms	Average Number Occu- pants per Room	Water Supply in House	Bath Tub	Kitchen Sink with Drain	Elec- tricity	Central Heat	Refrig- eration	Stores (excl Wood or Coal)	Power Washing Machine
Nebraska	14 915	11	12	% Frame	%			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nevada	1 047	21	9	96	38	6	72	51	20	49	21	16	27	46	56
New Hampshire	2 027	5	77	87	82	5	78	57	36	63	70	4	39	18	30
New Jersey	2 033	9	66	99	9	9	48	93	26	97	56	24	66	15	25
New Mexico	2 446	22	8	87	6	9	51	85	42	70	69	52	79	74	26
North Carolina	28 199	17	19	57	90	4	1 31	19	10	16	16	1	26	26	14
North Dakota	7 708	8	4	95	70	5	1 06	23	3	11	10	39	21	8	2
Ohio	18 464	5	47	89	10	7	63	47	10	50	23	17	16	49	41
Oklahoma	13 078	18	1	94	83	4	1 07	11	6	13	5	1	24	42	37
Oregon	5 677	34	5	98	52	5	51	57	33	61	54	6	17	15	43
Rhode Island	2 030	12	63	99	8	9	50	78	42	98	80	40	85	45	30
South Carolina	15 505	13	13	97	91	5	1 13	13	3	3	4	08	15	3	11
South Dakota	11 623	19	12	96	25	6	75	50	12	37	18	22	20	54	50
Tennessee	28 085	16	20	89	69	4	1 09	8	3	6	6	59	21	6	1
Texas	46 601	25	6	97	90	4	1 06	24	12	16	9	15	42	33	7
Utah	6 022	12	11	55	68	5	99	61	35	50	92	8	21	16	83
Vermont	2 216	4	79	91	2	9	52	85	29	91	48	23	52	25	48
Virginia	22 974	13	27	81	18	6	92	17	8	14	13	2	32	12	7
Washington	7 902	24	2	97	46	6	72	61	34	63	60	8	20	18	51
West Virginia	9 425	18	22	88	34	6	88	23	7	29	17	4	12	15	21
Wyoming	2 395	25	2	76	75	5	96	25	9	26	13	5	17	48	32
United States	622 413	15 6	18 6	93	57	5 8	8	44 0	11 5	27 2	30 0	12 0	33 5	28 7	20 6

enforced. All this has made a great change in the aspect of the rural districts of Ireland. Laborers' cottages are no longer a disgrace to that country. The following is a summary of this highly commendable program as presented by Miss E. R. Hooker of the United States Department of Agriculture in a manuscript to be published by the University of North Carolina Press:

1. The responsibility for erecting and maintaining the cottages rested not on individuals but on public authorities of two kinds: (a) the local councils under the supervision of, (b) the local government for Ireland.

2. The actual work of construction and repair was done by contractors who worked under the supervision of professionally trained men employed by the councils.

3. The operations were comprehensive, being carried on in every rural district in Ireland.

4. The cottages provided were durable and adequate but not expensive, the average cost being \$828 before the World War and about \$1,950 since the World War.

5. In financing the operations, the low rents beyond the means of the laborers were supplemented partly by the local taxes, partly by parliamentary grants raised partly through taxation, and partly from the income from certain Irish funds allocated to the purpose.

6. In Northern Ireland to the present day and in the Free State until 1936 the cottages provided have remained under the management of the local councils who kept them insured and repaired.

I am not certain that the plans employed in Ireland can be applied in the United States. We do not have a farm labor population similar to theirs, but Southern tenants are little more than laborers paid in kind.

Ireland has also converted practically her entire farm tenant population into farm owners with adequate housing in connection with these owned farms and she has provided suitable housing for practically the entire farm labor population. Approximately one billion dollars has been spent on her land settlement program.

It seems to me that if Ireland can solve her tenant and housing problem, the South ought to be able to solve its somewhat similar problems. In discussing this point, and in comparing Ireland with the United States, Miss Hooker has the following to say:

- (a) *Location of Cottages.* Much the larger part of the present housing activities of the United States is urban or suburban. Both the Federal Housing Administration and the Housing Division of the Public Works

TABLE II

FARM HOME COMFORTS AND CONVENIENCES, 1930

The parallel columns give the per cent of farm homes having running water, the per cent having electric lights, and the per cent that buy their electric light and power

Rank	STATES	Per cent Having Telephones	Percent Having Piped Water	Per cent Having Electric Lights	Per cent Buying Electric Lights and Power
1	Iowa	84 2	24 0	21 4	11 7
2	Kansas	72 8	16 9	12 5	6 2
3	Nebraska	72 5	29 6	16 5	5 8
4	Illinois	68 8	19 4	16 0	8 5
5	Connecticut	66 1	62 3	52 7	44 6
6	Massachusetts	64 8	74 5	62 6	54 0
7	New Hampshire	6 5	73 8	41 3	33 6
8	Minnesota	61 9	12 5	12 6	6 7
9	Indiana	60 8	19 5	16 7	10 2
10	Vermont	60 6	72 3	30 4	25 7
11	Wisconsin	59 1	15 7	25 6	16 6
12	Maine	56 9	49 0	33 1	28 0
13	Ohio	55 3	29 2	25 9	17 2
14	Missouri	53 8	8 3	7 9	4 9
15	South Dakota	53 6	14 5	10 9	3 0
16	Rhode Island	52 4	56 8	57 5	50 3
17	New York	48 9	37 1	34 4	27 1
18	Oregon	48 2	44 0	33 4	27 2
19	Washington	44 8	48 6	48 0	41 0
20	Michigan	43 5	24 1	20 5	14 3
21	Pennsylvania	42 5	37 2	26 5	19 3
22	Nevada	42 4	35 3	33 1	23 5
23	New Jersey	40 9	48 7	53 0	43 2
23	North Dakota	40 9	7 5	7 9	2 2
25	Colorado	39 8	20 5	15 7	10 9
26	Idaho	37 8	23 9	30 7	25 7
27	California	35 5	72 0	63 3	58 1
28	West Virginia	34 0	11 7	6 4	2 4
29	Wyoming	28 0	12 5	7 2	2 8
30	Maryland	27 6	24 0	21 2	14 4
31	Utah	27 3	38 9	58 1	53 2
32	Oklahoma	26 1	5 3	4 0	1 9
33	Kentucky	25 0	3 4	4 3	2 4
34	Delaware	24 9	15 5	16 1	10 6
35	Montana	20 4	11 3	7 5	4 2
36	Texas	19 6	13 9	4 6	2 0
37	Arizona	18 9	28 8	23 9	21 7
38	Tennessee	18 4	3 3	4 1	2 7
39	Virginia	17 8	9 0	7 6	4 5
40	Arkansas	10 3	1 5	2 1	1 1
41	New Mexico	9 2	8 9	5 4	3 5
42	Alabama	7 6	2 0	2 5	1 5
43	North Carolina	7 1	3 3	5 4	3 1
44	Florida	6 0	12 8	11 0	7 0
45	Georgia	5 8	3 1	2 9	1 4
46	Mississippi	5 1	1 8	1 5	0 8
47	South Carolina	4 0	3 3	3 8	1 9
48	Louisiana	3 8	3 1	2 6	1 2
	United States	34 0	15 8	13 4	9 1

Administration deal with housing in cities, or close to cities. The Resettlement Administration prepares some farms, on which houses, barns, and outbuildings are erected. No houses have yet been planned for rural laborers in this country. The closest parallel is between the Irish cottages for ex-service men and the subsistence homesteads now under the Resettlement Administration.

(b) *Objectives.* The American housing undertakings are demonstration projects, whereas those in Ireland were directed at meeting the general need in a comprehensive way.

(c) *Agencies.* The responsibility of providing laborers' cottages in Ireland was laid upon existing bodies of local government. These agencies had the work of construction done under their supervision by private contractors. The cottages for ex-service men erected after the partition of Ireland were provided under the direction of a special agency, the Sailors' and Soldiers' Land Trust, and were built by Public Works bodies in the two countries.

In the United States, the houses provided by the Resettlement Administration were erected by a Division of Construction. Of those provided by the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, part are erected by the agency itself, and part by limited dividend corporations. Those made possible by Federal Housing Administration are built privately.

(d) *Financing.* The Irish laborers' cottages were erected on land owned or hired by the local authority. The work of construction was financed by public loans, repaid through annuities. These loan charges with the expenses of maintenance are met partly by local taxation, partly by appropriations, and to a small extent by income from the cottages, which are let to rural laborers at a rental considerably below running expenses.

In the United States, the houses erected with the aid of the Federal Housing Administration are financed by mortgage loans insured by the Administration. The Public Works Administration has a large appropriation, out of which are met the cost of the dwellings erected by the Administration itself, and the construction loans made to limited dividend companies. The work carried on by the Resettlement Administration is also financed by appropriation.

The cost per house of laborers' cottages in Ireland was about \$825 before the war and less than \$2,000 after it. Though final official averages are not yet available for the American agencies, the costs plainly

TABLE III
AVERAGE VALUE OF FARMERS' DWELLINGS, 1930, AVERAGE SIZE AND AVERAGE
VALUE OF FARMS AND FARM BUILDINGS AND INCOME FROM
FARM PRODUCTION, PER FARM, BY STATES

STATE	Value of Farmers Dwellings	Average Income 1924 1930		Value		Size of Farm (Acres)
		Cash	Gross	All Buildings	Real Estate	
Connecticut	\$3 708	\$3 052	\$3 531	\$6 553	\$13 226	87
New Jersey	3 218	3 777	4 151	5 767	11 776	69
Massachusetts	3 050	2 586	2 998	5 587	10 205	78
Rhode Island	2 965	2 622	2 996	5 386	10 388	84
New York	2 296	2 245	2 576	4 479	8 234	112
Iowa	2 212	2 921	3 224	4 827	19 655	158
Maryland	2 051	1 749	2 147	3 651	8 244	101
Pennsylvania	2 038	1 544	1 956	3 905	6 977	89
California	1 895	4 337	4 490	3 267	25 203	224
Wisconsin	1 888	1 953	2 243	4 104	9 526	120
Illinois	1 803	2 381	2 707	3 641	15 553	143
Delaware	1 789	1 829	2 156	3 267	6 896	93
New Hampshire	1 738	1 710	2 098	3 031	5 190	132
Vermont	1 728	1 907	2 244	3 306	5 861	156
Nebraska	1 719	2 999	3 278	3 449	19 274	345
Minnesota	1 704	2 068	2 357	3 623	11 471	167
Nevada	1 624	5 139	5 483	3 035	18 626	1 186
Ohio	1 619	1 490	1 830	3 013	7 720	98
Michigan	1 596	1 445	1 755	3 086	6 853	101
Maine	1 450	1 780	2 144	2 529	4 981	119
South Dakota	1 432	2 478	2 739	3 029	15 455	439
North Dakota	1 408	2 714	3 062	2 964	12 199	496
Indiana	1 358	1 544	1 850	2 716	7 796	108
Washington	1 318	2 437	2 683	2 331	10 911	191
Oregon	1 317	2 135	2 380	2 337	11 438	300
Kansas	1 271	2 340	2 600	2 329	12 738	283
Virginia	1 226	861	1 226	1 887	5 016	98
Utah	1 189	2 072	2 280	1 726	8 145	207
Idaho	1 117	2 572	2 797	1 848	10 012	224
Missouri	1 099	1 275	1 589	1 916	7 018	132
Colorado	1 074	2 434	2 635	1 975	10 497	482
Arizona	1 011	3 714	4 046	1 649	12 999	743
Wyoming	991	3 082	3 327	2 023	12 919	1 469
West Virginia	941	677	1 089	1 443	4 138	106
Montana	910	2 588	2 836	1 783	11 109	940
Florida	807	1 828	2 033	1 195	7 179	85
Texas	708	1 390	1 595	1 079	7 260	252
Kentucky	664	629	912	1 122	3 545	81
North Carolina	653	953	1 254	967	3 018	64
Oklahoma	620	1 330	1 572	1 037	6 096	166
Tennessee	602	623	916	926	3 025	73
New Mexico	526	1 594	1 776	864	6 619	982
South Carolina	519	790	1 084	754	2 401	66
Georgia	483	773	1 079	714	2 259	86
Louisiana	447	834	1 005	648	2 590	58
Alabama	408	651	906	576	1 952	68
Arkansas	391	718	941	577	2 261	66
Mississippi	377	651	819	504	1 818	55

run much higher. (In fact some critics claim that all we have demonstrated by our demonstration projects is an utter incapacity to build houses with any reasonable degree of efficiency.)

Assuming that we are not to have in the near future any large-scale program of rural housing sponsored by the Government, there is much that can be done by farmers themselves and by public agencies to improve rural housing conditions. As has been suggested, a large part of our problem is habit, and downright laziness and indifference. The number of farmers who own motor cars is proof that the lack of piped water in the kitchen, lack of bath tubs, lack of sanitary toilet facilities, etc., is not due altogether to poverty. Much of our poor housing is due to long-established home habits, to mental inertia, and to physical laziness. The three minimum essentials in the farm home are water, light, and heat. It is surprising how inexpensively these can be acquired if only farmers want them badly enough to exhibit a little enterprise. It is surprising what farmers can do with a little paint, some carpentry tools, and a little locally available raw material, if they will only show some initiative. It is surprising how much can be done to tidy up the grounds, by planting shrubs and trees dug out of the woods, if the farmers had the energy and the desire to do so. There are thousands of farm dwellings that have been made comfortable and grounds that have been made attractive, at very little cash outlay, but somebody has had to bestir himself to accomplish this. Generally speaking, farmers' dwellings have enough space; what is generally lacking is comforts, conveniences, and good appearance. With a little systematic planning any farmer within a reasonably short time and at little cash outlay can make his home both comfortable and attractive.

I believe that most progress will come from research, promotional work, and self-help by farmers themselves. Several agencies and institutions have already exhibited interest in better rural housing, such as the work being done by land-grant colleges in landscape design, farm building design, and research projects dealing with the housing problem, and extension activities dealing with better housing. North Carolina State College has recently employed an extension landscape specialist to assist in the program of more attractive farmhouses. Specialists in agricultural engineering have prepared plans for remodeling farmhouses and for new buildings. Home and farm demonstration agents should get back to the fundamentals for which they were created. They can do more to promote farm housing than all the other agencies together.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has had a Farm Home Improvement Program for nearly a decade. This program is mainly educational. The National Grange has always been interested in better rural housing. The first master of the National Grange, William Saunders, was a Scotch landscape gardener. The very heart of the Grange centers around the farm family and the farm home.

Better Homes in America is an educational organization interested mainly in raising the standards of homes for moderate- and low-income groups. This organization has accomplished much through its demonstration activities. And last but not least has been the educational and promotional work of the farm journals of America.

The volume *Farm and Village Housing* stresses the importance of education and research. Farmers must be trained and made to want higher standards of housing. Research must be stimulated to find out how actually to produce housing of a higher standard. One person has remarked that the real problem is to learn how to build comfortable farm dwellings cheaply enough for low-income farmers to afford them. Experiments are being conducted with this as the aim. The coming decade is likely to be characterized by progress in house design and construction. For farmers, it is likely that the open road to better homes is through care and improvement of the dwellings now standing.

But the rural housing problem remains with us, largely unsolved. For the great mass of Southern farmers housing covers little more than shelter from the elements, often shelter little above that provided for the livestock. There has been considerable improvement in farm housing for the land-owning element of the population. But for the tenant and low-income masses we have a broad economic and social problem, of which housing is only a detail, which is a challenge to the South and to the Nation.

Our Present Knowledge of Assortative Mating¹

C. Arnold Anderson*

ABSTRACT

Assortative mating refers to the correlation between the measurements or attributes of husbands and wives. The problem deserves inclusion in research projects on the family. Evidence is summarized to support the hypothesis that "free choice" leads to mating of like with like for all those criteria of choice which have been studied. The type of selectivity involved in friendships and other intimate associations strengthens this hypothesis. The factors in actual matings which facilitate or hinder this analytically abstract tendency are discussed; these modifications are revealing of many essential features of the family and of the society studied.

INTRODUCTION

The vast literature on human marriage and the family contains surprisingly few studies of an important phase of the family—the formation of new families. This neglect is indefensible, for both a priori reasoning and the available factual evidence support the assumption that the duration and the "success" of marriages are influenced by the respective characteristics of the two mates. There is reason to believe, moreover, that a change in mating practices would prove the most feasible approach to ameliorative "treatment" of many disintegrative processes in our family system.

Although proportionately few studies of marriage selection exist, an analysis of the hundred odd reports would require a monograph,² which is in preparation. The intention of the present paper is to emphasize the importance of the problem and to suggest a unifying hypothesis.

Pearson's distinction³ between two types of mating has been adopted

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² A selected bibliography will be found in our article, "The Sociological Approach to the Study of Assortative Mating," *International Congress for Studies Regarding Population Problems*, VIII (1932), 617-34.

³ Karl Pearson, "Regression, Heredity, and Panmixia," *Philosophical Transactions*, CLXXXVIII (1896), 253-318; R. H. Johnson, "Mate Selection," *Proceedings Second International Congress of Eugenics*, I (1921), 916-25.

generally. Preferential mating refers to the tendency for certain types of persons, within one sex, to be chosen in marriage, with resulting exclusion of other types; e.g., there is discrimination against the less healthy persons and in favor of the more beautiful. Assortative mating is the tendency, among those who marry, for males possessing a certain attribute (or degree of a trait) to mate with females having the same or opposite attribute (or the same or different degrees of the given trait). If the correlation between husband and wife is positive, we speak of homogamy; if negative, heterogamy.⁴

Generalizations obtained from the study of assortative mating will not only enlarge our understanding of the family, but will also throw light upon many other sociological processes; for example, the basic cultural compulsives of society, the relative role of similarity and dissimilarity in the formation and solidarity of groups, and social mobility.

Our extended study of this mating process has led us to formulate the following hypothesis: There is a tendency, when selection is unrestricted, to mate homogeneously—like marries like. This states what will happen, other things being equal; the relationship is an analytical abstraction of an interaction pattern. It does not deny that other factors operate either to reinforce or to weaken this tendency.

THE EVIDENCE FOR HOMOGAMY

1. *Ethnic Traits*

Endogamy of "races," facilitated by "visibility" and culturally prescribed separation, is well known. But the degree of ethnocentrism, as indicated by intermarriages, varies enormously among different ethnic groups. Although usually more than two generations pass before assimilation of immigrants with the native population proceeds far, the extent or speed of mixture is roughly proportionate to the similarity of the cultural heritages. Correction for duration of residence in the nation, sex ratios, urban-rural residence, and other extraneous factors does not eliminate the variations in endogamous tendency, which frequently is specific for particular communes in the country of emigration. The greater propensity for out-marriage among the males of a given group is favored by wider contacts and by a shortage of women in their own group.⁵

⁴ Pearson apparently intended these terms to refer to inherited traits. Later writers have tended to extend the meaning to all traits, leaving to separate analysis the question of the hereditary component or result. See the second part of our article, cited above. A German equivalent of "assortative mating" is *Gattenwahl*.

⁵ E. deS. Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929); N. Carpenter, "Immigrants and Their Children, 1920," U. S. Bureau of Census *Monograph*.

2. Religion

Ethnic, economic, and religious boundaries between groups are often coterminous; but when they diverge, the religious are usually strongest. Secularization, mobility, and other modern changes weaken religious bars to marriage; yet most marriages are still between people who are alike in religion and even in particular denominational allegiance. The outstanding trend in this connection is the breakdown of Jewish solidarity; in many German cities, before the present regime, the greater number of Jews married Gentiles. In the majority of ethnic and religious marriages, as in most situations where strong social barriers exist, it is the man of the less esteemed group who more frequently finds a mate in the dominant group.⁶

3. Occupation and Social Class

Marriages occur within recognized class limits and occupational groups—even within specific occupations—in excess of chance expectancy. The relative prestige of various strata and the fine pragmatic distinctions which are made show up clearly in such an analysis. Marriage remains to a large degree a union of families and groups as well as of individuals.

Class endogamy varies in intensity at different levels of the social hierarchy; it is apparently less near the top of the pyramid. A variant marriage type, hypergamy, is quite common; women are promoted socially by marriage to a man of higher class.⁷

4. Physical Traits

Pearson's demonstration of a small positive correlation between mates for stature has been confirmed by later studies; as for some other traits the degree of correspondence is closer at the extremes of the distribution

VII, Washington, 1927; Dominion of Canada Census Bureau, *Origin, Birthplace, Nationality, and Language of the Canadian People*, Quebec, 1929; J. Drachsler, "Intermarriage in New York City," *Columbia University Studies in History*, etc. (New York City, 1921), p. 213; R. Pearl, "The Vitality of the Peoples of America," *Studies in Human Biology* (Baltimore, 1923), pp. 177-252; F. Savorgnan, *La Sclta Matrimoniale* (Ferrara, 1924).

⁶ R. Benini, *Principii di Demografia* (Florence, 1901); U. Z. Engelman, "Intermarriage among Jews in Switzerland, 1888-1920," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (1928), 516-23; R. C. May, "Mischehen und Ehescheidungen," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, LIII (1929), 29-67; Savorgnan, *op. cit.*

⁷ F. Chessa, *La trasmissione ereditaria delle professioni* (Turin, 1911); M. Ginsburg, "Interchange Between Social Classes," *Economic Journal*, XXXIX (1929), 554-65; D. M. Marvin, "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XVI (1918), 131-50; M. Rubin and H. Westergaard, *Statistik der Eben* (Jena, 1890); P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927); F. A. Woods, "The Confification of Social Groups," *Proceedings Second International Congress of Eugenics*, I (1921), 312-28.

of the trait. Other studies suggest selection for "beauty," constitutional vigor and health, and physical defects like deafness. Again, we observe that male bearers of less esteemed traits more often than females can marry upward; a special instance is the tendency among Negro men to marry women lighter in complexion than themselves.⁸

5. *Intelligence and Personality*

The dysgenic results of differential fertility are magnified by the pronounced correlation of husband and wife in intelligence. This selection appears to occur within as well as between social classes.

The sole concrete evidence for heterogamy involves personality traits; but the accumulated recent data appear to demonstrate that similarity prevails here as well. Folsom suggested that similarity prevails in attitudes, interests and intelligence, with dissimilar behavior rhythms and emotional expressiveness. His more recent statement, however, we interpret as agreement with the hypothesis of this paper.⁹

6. *Age*

Statistical analysis of selection for age is more practicable by virtue of the exactness of the data. And the increasing segregation of activities of different age groups in society, together with coeducation, augments the role of this trait in marriage selection.

Correlation coefficients for age at marriage range upwards from .50; there is greater similarity in remarriages than where both persons are single. But the correlation surface is unusual in that the distributions of the ages of wives of young men tail-off upward while those for older men are skewed oppositely; the ages of husbands for given ages of wives vary correspondingly. Accordingly, the discrepancy in age first decreases and then increases with increasing age of the first mate; application of a logarithmic scale to these differences would minimize this variation. Age combinations representing close agreement occur in excess of chance, and the amount of excess varies with the degree of correspondence in age.

⁸ C. B. Davenport, "Inheritance of Stature," *Genetics*, II (1917), 313-89; E. A. Fay, *Marriages of the Deaf in America* (Washington, D. C., 1898); J. A. Harris, "Assortative Mating in Man," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXX (1912), 476-92; M. J. Herskovits, "Social Selection in a Mixed Population," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, XII (1926), 587-93; Karl Pearson, "Assortative Mating in Man," *Biometrika*, II (1903), 481-98; E. B. Wilson and E. R. Doering, "The Elder Pierces," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, XII (1926), 424-32.

⁹ H. J. Banker, "Genealogical Correlations of Student Ability," *Journal of Heredity*, XIX (1928), 203-8; J. K. Folsom, *The Family* (New York, 1934), pp. 449-52; J. K. Folsom (ed.), *A Plan for Marriage* (New York, 1938), pp. 72-112; H. E. Jones, "Homogamy in Intellectual Ability," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (1930), 369-82.

There is evidence that the average difference in age of husbands and wives is decreasing under the influence of modern conditions of life. Industrialized countries in Europe show smaller differences than agricultural countries, and urban areas less than rural. In the upper classes the discrepancy is larger; the men marry later but tend to choose wives not much older than those chosen by men of the lower classes.¹⁰

7. *Supplementary Evidence from Other Types of Intimate Groupings*

Social contacts among children are observed to be positively selective for age, intelligence and "sociability"; and studies of older youth find added similarities between friends in personality, physique, tastes, social status, moral standards. Hamilton observed that premarital love affairs manifested the same degree of age difference as marriages. All these materials indicate an antecedent probability for the validity of the hypothesis of homogamy.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG SELECTIVE TENDENCIES AND EFFECTS OF OTHER FACTORS

The preceding evidence has been offered in support of the abstract tendency stated earlier for traits considered singly. But matings are the resultant of clusters of characteristics. Since similarity in certain respects frequently involves unlikeness in other traits, a composite coefficient of resemblance between husbands and wives might be smaller than one for a single attribute.¹¹

The number and diversity of determinants of mate choice will be affected by the complexity of the social structure, and the weighting given to different features will vary with the social group. But the number and nature of the factors consciously considered need not reflect social complexity; note the effects of the rise of the "romantic complex."

Societies differ in the emphasis they place upon the marital bond. The marital relationship may be classified as a sentiment tie, and it will have certain immanent tendencies as we have hypothesized, but in practice there is always fusion with instrumental considerations—emphasis upon particular cultural values such as vicarious display or social mobility.

Certain of these "secondary" elements in selection may be discussed briefly. Similarity between mates is due, allegedly, to "spontaneous"

¹⁰ Benini, *op. cit.*; L. Perozzo, ". . . distribuzioni dei matrimoni secondo l'età degli sposi," *Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche, Mémoire*, Ser. III, X (1882), 473-503; S. J. Pretorius, "Skew Bivariate Frequency Surfaces," *Biometrika*, XXII (1930), 109-223; our article cited above.

¹¹ Benini, "Gruppi chiusi e gruppi aperti—," *Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, XXIII (1928), 362-83.

attraction of like to like, reinforced by culturally-induced preferences, limitations of contacts, and the interlocking of various sorts of similarities. Unlikeness reflects an asserted but unproved attraction between unlike persons, more frequently certain cultural compulsions and particular kinds of limitations of contact, plus the fact that choice on the basis of a given trait precludes similarity in others.

The factors inhibiting "spontaneous" attraction are mainly those limiting association; social contacts are not free but restricted and channeled to nearly the same extent among adolescents as among adults. Behavior is increasingly organized around specialized interests and intellectual levels.

Modern conditions of life, typified by large cities, are productive of wider contact with more chance of association among persons having similar interests. At the same time the increasing diversification of social and personality types hinders choice by virtue of involving only one segment of the personality. Disturbed sex ratios in different groups is an additional handicap. Employment of women fosters interclass matings but it also increases the opportunity of meeting congenial individuals.

Attraction is mediated by culturally-created suggestions; in some societies these arbitrary guides are very strict. Social standards of beauty, adequacy, or "personality" when applied to prospective mates often preclude adequate wider contact which would aid wiser choice. Considerations of class, wealth, refinement may be decisive; it is believed love will develop later. Great limitation on premarital contact may make the choice a matter of indifference; where cousin marriage is desired, cousins find one another attractive.

In general, prescription of contacts lessens similarity for personal or other traits not implicit in the definition. Where a groom is expected to be markedly older, ill assortment for other traits may follow. Romanticism is a revolt from restrictions, but the harmony it stresses is confined to certain personality traits only. Increasing valuation of individuality makes it more difficult to select the mate who will prove congenial. And this romanticism leads to more matings across class lines, at the expense of ethnic and religious solidarity. There is frequently an associated exaggerated premium on feminine beauty with the result, among others, of a larger age difference.

Long postponement of marriage on the part of men is associated with decreased age similarity. When women show this postponement they

are permitted wider choice, and this in turn appears to be associated with greater similarity in age and many other traits.

We believe the extensive collections of data bearing upon this question support our hypothesis of homogamous unions resulting from free choice. Other materials, not included here, indicate that marital disorganization and divorce increase with dissimilarity of mates. The verification of this last generalization would be highly significant for the theory of family organization.

An Appraisal of 4-H Club Benefits¹

*Weber H. Peterson**

ABSTRACT

This study compares the activity of a group of 4-H students with those of a comparable group of non-4-H students of Montana State College. The 4-H students (boys and girls) participated in college activities about one-third more than did non-4-H students, the 4-H boys participating over 50 per cent more than the non-4-H boys. Longer membership in 4-H club means increased participation in college activities and a slightly higher scholastic standing, as shown by this study. The only college activity that non-4-H students participated in more than the 4-H students was journalism. The 4-H students made greater use of the 'push' their fraternities gave them than did the non-4-H fraternity students. The scholastic standing of the two groups is not significantly different, however, the standing of the 4-H students was slightly higher. A larger percentage of the 4-H students who were enrolled at Montana State College during the winter quarter of 1937 re-enrolled at Montana State College during the winter quarter of 1938 than did non-4-H students. The effect of 4-H training was more pronounced in the sophomore and junior years of college than in the freshman and senior years.

The 4-H club organization is the largest rural group of its kind in America. There are more than 1,250,000 boys and girls of America who are members. More boys and girls were regularly enrolled in 4-H clubs in the state of Montana in 1937 than in any previous year. Over 40 per cent of the students enrolled in courses in home economics and agriculture at Montana State College during the spring quarter of 1937 were former 4-H club members.

The purpose of this paper is to show the relationship between college activities of a group of "comparable" 4-H and non-4-H students of Montana State College and to determine whether young people who have had 4-H experience are more active in college affairs and have a higher scholastic standing than college students who have never belonged to the 4-H organization.² In other words, do 4-H students learn how to

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¹ The data used in this paper were taken from material compiled by the author in connection with his study 'The 4-H Club Student in College Activities,' submitted in partial fulfillment of the Master of Science degree in Agricultural Economics at Montana State College, June, 1938.

² By the term *comparable* is meant the similarity that exists between the 4-H and non-4-H students who were chosen for the study. An attempt was made to choose two groups of students as nearly identical as possible, one of which had had 4-H training. Members of the two groups were alike in that they were (1) from the same type of farming area,

condition themselves for group life participation for later life through the activities they participate in as members of a 4-H club?

A method of controlled and selective sampling was used in an attempt to answer the above question accurately. It was thought best to restrict the study to 4-H club boys and girls attending Montana State College during the winter quarter of 1937. There were 198 former 4-H club members and 161 non-4-H members who were included in this study.^a

In order to measure and evaluate the participation of individual students of the two selected groups in college activities a rating scale was devised. This scale was constructed from data obtained from 25 undergraduate students (chosen from the entire student body), eight graduate students, and 15 faculty members. Each person of this group weighted the activities which a student might participate in while attending college. This was an evaluation of college activities by each individual of the group, and as such represents a sample of the "true value" of the respective activities on and off the campus. In this manner it was hoped that the properly weighted participation record of each student included in this study could be accurately determined and compared.

Each student of the two comparable groups filled out a questionnaire sheet, giving the activities he had participated in and the number of quarters he had been active in each. The participation record of each student was then determined by multiplying the rating or "true value" given to his activities by the number of quarters the student had participated in the individual activities. By adding the weight given to each of his activities his total participation record was obtained.

Participation Records of All Students of the Two Groups in Activities.
The average total participation record for the 4-H students was almost

(2) from the same community, whenever possible, (3) from the same size family, (4) of similar age, (5) of similar fraternity membership, (6) of both sexes, (7) from high schools of similar size, (8) of the same classes and (9) courses in college, and (10) earning similar amounts of money while attending college. No attempt was made to choose students of the same intelligence or to choose students whose parents had had equal educational advantages, but from the data assembled it was found that the two groups were very similar in these two respects. Hence, it was the contention of the aforementioned thesis, that membership in 4-H clubs does not presuppose superiority nor inferiority to the check group, but both groups represent the average boy or girl.

^a The discrepancy between the number of students in the two groups is due to a shortage of comparable students from which to draw the check group (students who have never affiliated with 4-H). The difference in numbers between the two groups did not affect the analysis of the data because averages and percentages were used to show comparisons between the two groups.

30 per cent higher than that for the non-4-H students. In each of the four college years the 4-H students participated significantly more than their classmates, the non-4-H club students. The seniors participated 21 per cent more, juniors 37 per cent, sophomores 40 per cent, and freshmen 24 per cent more. When the participation records were broken down into the activities of the boys and those of the girls, it was found that for the 4-H boys the participation was 59 per cent higher than for the non-4-H boys. The range of the participation records in this case being from only 28 per cent higher for senior 4-H boys to 75 per cent higher for junior 4-H boys.

The participation record of the girls in activities did not show such a pronounced difference as that between the boys of the two groups. However, in each of the four classes the 4-H club girls had higher average participation in college activities than the non-4-H girls. The participation of the average 4-H girl was 11 per cent higher than that of the non-4-H girl. Sophomore and junior 4-H girls had a participation 37 and 35 per cent greater, respectively, than did the non-4-H girls of these classes. The participation of the freshmen and senior 4-H girls exceeded by 10 and 3 per cent, respectively, their non-4-H classmates.

It is interesting to note that the fraternity 4-H students were able to utilize the fraternity to a greater extent than the fraternity non-4-H students. All fraternity 4-H students had an average participation 44 per cent higher than that of the fraternity non-4-H students. The fraternity 4-H boys had almost a 70 per cent higher participation than the fraternity non-4-H boys. The fraternity 4-H girls had a participation 16 per cent higher than the girls of the check group. All non-fraternity 4-H students were 12 per cent more active on the average than the non-fraternity non-4-H students.

Length of membership in 4-H club seems to have a direct effect on participation in college activities. With the exception of one group of students who were 4-H members for three years, there was a distinct increase in participation by the students who were 4-H members for more than one year over that of those who were members for just one year. Of those students who had been club members for seven or more years, there were 64.3 per cent of them who were above the median in participation as compared to only 41.9 per cent for the one-year 4-H members.

In order to get some idea of the activities participated in most frequently by students, the total participation of the students was broken

down into ten "activity groups." In eight of the group activities 4-H students had higher average participation. These activities and the relative percentages of participation of the 4-H and non-4-H students are shown in the following table:

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Ratio of 4-H Students to Non-4-H Students</i>
1. Athletics	24 per cent more
2. Church	34 per cent more
3. Clubs	34 per cent more
4. Councils, Fraternity Offices	24 per cent more
5. Debate, Dramatics, Music	36 per cent more
6. Honorary Societies	18 per cent more
7. Journalism	4 per cent less
8. Judging Teams	64 per cent more
9. Service Organizations	17 per cent more
10. Student Senate	9 per cent less

Over two-thirds of the total average participation of the 4-H group was made in activities 1, 2, and 3. Activities 4, 5, 6, and 9 made up 26.5 per cent of the total participation; activities 7, 8, and 10 made up the remaining 5.6 per cent of the average total activity record. Over 75 per cent of the total average participation of the 4-H girls was made in activities 1, 2, and 3 as compared to less than 60 per cent of the participation of the 4-H boys being made in these three activity groups.

For the non-4-H students the percentage distribution of the total average participation among the various activities was about the same as the distribution of the participation by the 4-H students. Almost two-thirds of their group activities were in the first three activity groups. Activities 4, 5, 6, and 9 ranged from 6.6 to 7.1 per cent of the total participation, composing 27.5 per cent of it. The remaining three activities composed only 5.2 per cent of the total average participation. Activities 1, 2, and 3 made up 71 per cent of the total average participation of the non-4-H girls, whereas these three activities composed only about three-fifths of the participation of the non-4-H boys.

The percentage of the students of the two groups who entered into the ten activities was quite similar. In only two of the activity groups was there a difference of more than 5 per cent in the participation of 4-H and non-4-H students who participated in the ten activity groups. About 92.3 per cent of the 4-H students participated in church activities, as compared to only 78.8 per cent of the non-4-H students. The per-

centage of non-4-H students who participated in activity 7, journalism, was 5.8 per cent higher than that of the 4-H students.

Analysis of Scholarship of the Students of the Two Groups. The scholastic standings of the students of the two groups were almost identical. The 4-H students had an average of 1.557 grade points per credit as compared with 1.551 grade points per credit for the non-4-H students.⁴ Of the four college classes, the 4-H student, on the average, had more grade points per credit in the senior, junior, and sophomore classes, but not so many in the freshman class as the non-4-H student. The 4-H boys had an average of 3.2 per cent more grade points per credit than the non-4-H boys. However, the scholastic record of the non-4-H girls was higher by 1.39 per cent more grade points per credit than the 4-H girls.

Fraternity affiliation had little effect on the grades of the two test groups. The fraternity 4-H students had a slightly higher scholastic average than the fraternity non-4-H students, with the 4-H boys having about a six per cent higher average and the 4-H girls having about a 5.5 per cent lower average. There was only a slight relationship between high scholastic standing and length of membership in 4-H club.

One of the interesting relationships brought out in this study was found by a comparison of the proportion of the students of the two groups who returned to college. About 82 per cent of the 4-H students studied in 1937 were enrolled in college in the winter quarter of 1938 as compared with only 72 per cent of the non-4-H students, a difference of 10 per cent in favor of the former group. About 87 per cent of the 4-H boys returned compared with 75 per cent of the non-4-H boys. Almost 80 per cent of the 4-H girls returned to college while only about 70 per cent of the non-4-H girls did.

The 4-H Problem of the Future. In 1930, less than 30 per cent of the 4-H boys and girls of the United States were 15 years of age or over. The same was true for Montana. These figures show one of the most important problems of 4-H clubs—that of maintaining the interest of young people of the ages 15 to 20, inclusive, in 4-H club work.

This problem takes on a greater significance in view of the fact that there is a high percentage of the boys and girls of this age group who are not in school. According to the 1930 Census, there were 47,826 children between the ages of 14 and 20 in the rural districts of Montana.

⁴ The grade points per credit are determined in the following manner: three grade points are allowed for a credit of A, two grade points for a credit of B, and one grade point for a credit of C; no grade points are allowed for a D, E, or F. The scholastic records were obtained from the records of the registrar.

Of these, only 27,911, or 58.4 per cent, were attending school. This means that there were almost 20,000 rural boys and girls in Montana receiving little, if any, guidance from a public agency, although they were changing from adolescence to manhood and womanhood. The citizens of the state might well ask themselves, What is the best means of meeting the needs of this group in education and guidance?

Montana's public school system is definitely not filling the entire need of these rural young people. In 1930, there were, on the average, 356 rural boys and girls, 14 to 20 years of age, in each Montana county, who were not attending school. There is an average of one teacher for every 30 to 40 pupils in school. If the 356 young people in every county were in school, the citizens of the state would not hesitate to employ ten teachers at an approximate cost of \$10,000. Should we, then, hesitate to spend about one-fifth of this sum for one teacher or guide in addition to the county extension agent who will give his full time to the promotion of boys' and girls' club work in every rural county of the state that has over three hundred boys and girls of this age who are not in school? This would amount to about six or seven dollars a year per pupil. Can the state, as it faces its future, afford to do less?

Summary. In the college years 1934 to 1938 at Montana State College, 4-H students participated in student activities significantly more than the comparable non-4-H students; this was especially true of the 4-H boys. The greatest differences in the participation records of the two groups showed in the sophomore and junior classes. However, the 4-H students of all four classes participated significantly more than their non-4-H classmates. Fraternity affiliation had a marked effect upon increased activities, especially those of the 4-H students. Journalism was the single activity in which non-4-H students participated more than the 4-H students. Differences in scholastic standing between the two groups were not significant. The average scholastic standing of the 4-H boys was higher than that of the non-4-H boys, but the opposite was true of 4-H girls. Membership in fraternities seemed to have little effect on raising the scholastic standing of the students. There was a slight relationship between the length of membership in 4-H club and higher average scholastic standing, but not so much as that between length of membership in 4-H club and higher average participation records. It was also found that a greater percentage of 4-H students returned to college than non-4-H students.

Notes

ORGANIZED RURAL LIFE IMPROVEMENT IN HAWAII

The Hawaiian Islands, comprising the Territory of Hawaii, are looked upon by a great many persons as only a tourist resort and a defense outpost. They are far more than this. True, the army, navy, and tourist have helped make the principal port, Honolulu, a modern city of about 150,000 population. But more than half of the total population of the islands is rural and most of the wealth is agricultural. These islands ship away approximately 70 million dollars' worth of raw sugar each year, and 50 million dollars' worth of canned pineapples. Besides these two crops there are substantial shipments of coffee, hides, honey, early potatoes, asparagus, and other minor agricultural products. The transportation of these agricultural products is also a creditable business in itself. Economically Hawaii is an area that depends upon agriculture. Moreover, it will remain basically agricultural. There are no minerals, metals, or fuel in the Territory. Urban industry is an impossibility. Yet the recent Statchood Commission found Hawaii far advanced economically and socially and, judged by a wide variety of indices, more than able to hold her own with at least one third of the existing states.

Despite this agricultural base the lure of the city is as strong in Hawaii as it is on the mainland. Since the days of the early whaling and fur trading ships the Hawaiians have tended to leave their *kuleanas* in the rural districts and to crowd into the port cities. Whole districts became depopulated, and today stone walls, *heiaus*, and villages in ruins can be found all over the islands. The cityward movement has been continuous throughout the years.

Today because of her limited industrial projects, Hawaii's cities, particularly Honolulu, are overcrowded and many people lack employment. The result is an increase in idleness, want, restlessness, delinquency, and crime in the city.

The rural social scientist finds in the Territory a fascinating laboratory. Not only is there the familiar problem of a rural urban migration and its attendant results, so different from those on the mainland, but there is also a determined effort on the part of the leaders to solve this problem in terms of their own situation, which is discussed in this article.

Before considering this effort, however, it is necessary to sketch in some of the background.

The islands have a semitropical climate and excellent soil, which was found to be suitable for growing sugar and, later, pineapples. Because sugar and canned fruit are highly competitive agricultural products, it was found that only the most efficient form of agriculture would serve adequately in world competition. This most efficient form is held to be industrialized agriculture.

Hawaii has 40 industrialized sugar farms or plantations and 10 industrialized pineapple farms. These organizations work together in voluntary co-operatives. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, organized 70 years ago, is one of the most successful co-operatives in the world.

Industrialized agriculture found the Hawaiians disinclined toward disciplined and routine labor on farms; so it brought in laborers from all over the world: from mainland America, from Europe, from the South Seas, but chiefly from Asia—Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, and Filipinos. These imported laborers were expected to stay not longer than three years; then they were to receive free transportation back to their homelands. However, most of them found Hawaii to their liking; and while carrying on Hawaii's agriculture, they married and raised families, and have given the Islands' population higher figures than actually ever known before.

Today immigration is stopped just as it is on mainland America. The last Asiatics to come were the Filipinos in April, 1932. It is judged that Hawaii now has enough people to carry on her necessary work—and fortunately there is enough work here for all if the rural districts absorb their share.¹

The problem therefore has become one of making rural life attractive enough to induce young people already on the land to remain and to induce many in the cities to return. The sugar and pineapple farms need more men. And then there are unused areas which might produce some of the 22 million dollars' worth of foodstuffs now imported into Hawaii each year. There are vast areas that would provide subsistence farms near to existing and potential agricultural processing plants. On the basis of production of what is already grown in insufficient quantities, it is estimated that Hawaii's rural districts can comfortably provide happy homes and a livelihood for 50,000 more people than now live there. No one can predict what the future may be for Hawaii should she develop new tropical products of use in mainland America but not producible in any other part of America. For besides sugar cane and pineapple, Hawaii now grows in rather limited quantities a very wide range of tropical fruits and plants. It is believed that production of all of these can be expanded easily with increased rural man power. Already, considerable expansion is under way in taro and avocado production and in the processing and manufacturing of alpha cellulose from sugar cane bagasse in certain rural areas.

Replacements and expansion in agriculture are now carried on only by young citizen labor. To cause these young people to volunteer to carry on the industrialized agriculture and the small farming upon which Hawaii depends, requires the co-operation of the schools, the industrialized farms, and all other agencies that tend to render public and private service. This co-operation is being advanced by proper organization.

It must be admitted that in the past our schools have headed students toward the city; and our public governments, local foundations, and social service agencies have dealt too largely with Honolulu, to the disadvantage of the rural districts. The attempt is now being made to develop an awareness of the undesirability of

¹ The American citizens, born in Hawaii of immigrant laborer parents, are forming a "neo-Hawaiian race" of great attractiveness, ability, and promise. The social scientist from the mainland listens to his colleagues at the University with indulgent incredulity as they discourse about the "neo-Hawaiians." The longer he remains, the more he observes, the more likely he is to recognize that the case is arguable. And nowhere will he find less racial prejudice.

this cityward movement, and to enlist all concerned in the improvement of rural life, so that it will successfully compete with the attractions of the city.

One of the first things being tried is centralization, in recognition of the basic desire for sociability. By consolidation rural villages are being developed to a size to make practicable all the really desirable features of the city with none of the disadvantages that come from crowding and unemployment.

Excellent roads and well-lighted streets, water and sewer systems, health services, social halls, amusement places, movies, radio, telephones, electricity and electric conveniences, gymnasias, swimming pools and beaches, modern houses, libraries, home and farm demonstration services—all the things heretofore found mainly in the city are being established generally in the rural districts. These improvements are being accomplished through co-operation. Industrialized agriculture itself is spending in rural Hawaii about four million dollars a year to improve rural social facilities. This amount is exclusive of taxes for social utilities. Additional tax money roughly allocated to social service of all sorts, amounts to about ten million dollars.²

To cause all agencies to aid and work toward the desired objective, the outstanding agency of co-operation and planned activity is the Community Association of Hawaii. This organization, which is sponsored financially by the Juliette M. Atherton Trust of Honolulu, was first started as a five-year experiment in the large Waialua District of Oahu (population about 9,000, of whom 4,200 are connected with the Waialua Agricultural Company, Ltd., a sugar farm). The experiment has been in operation three years, and it is so successful that several other active rural community associations have been formed elsewhere in the Territory.

The Waialua Community Association is composed of 32 member organizations and many individual members. Schools, churches, firms, clubs, etc., unite to improve their community. Quarterly meetings are held for the association as a whole. Between these meetings the work is carried on by an Advisory Committee

² The details of this program will appear in part in the rest of the article. It has been charged that the enterprise is paternalistic. The degree of paternalism varies with the sponsoring company but it appears to be on a very much higher level than the type of paternalism found in even the better industrial villages on the mainland, as described in Harriet Herring's *Welfare Work in Mill Villages: Study of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina, or my Industrial Village Churches*. The interesting thing is that the plantations accept the dictum that efficient social utilities pay, and they bear the bulk of the social costs. One case more or less of measles affects their profits. But those I observed, with one exception, are also sincerely trying to build a democratic society. Officers and directors of the various local organizations are not overloaded with foremen and executives. In at least one case C. I. O. organizers were allowed to use a community house to present their case (unsuccessfully) to plantation employees. Moreover, this experiment is being tried with a heterogeneous group of Asiatics and their native-born citizen children. To attempt to build in rural Hawaii a democratic society and a rich civilization from these groups with varying traditions and taboos requires high skill in social engineering. Certainly there is now more democracy and less paternalism in Waialua than there was. The enterprise may fail, but whether it succeeds or fails, it holds much of interest in the practical synthesis it is making, in ways far more varied than can be described in a single article, of rural sociology, theoretical and applied, and of general and agricultural economics.—E. DES. BRUNNER.

composed of the officers, chairmen of standing committees, delegates-at-large, and two delegates from each member organization.

The organizations and individuals present the needs of the community as seen by them. These needs are discussed and plans are made to solve the needs. Either a committee composed of representatives of the various organizations and racial groups, or some member organization is designated to handle each problem. The association backs up the work of its committees and its member organizations. Duplication is discussed and eliminated; needy voids are filled with suitably planned activities.

The scope of the work is indicated by the names of the several standing committees: Advisory, Adult Education, Community Beautification and Art, Crafts, Community Center, Health and Sanitation, Home Demonstration, Kindergartens, Library, Music, Public Programs, Recreation, and Woman's Exchange.

The Community Association endeavors to have all persons in the district take part in improving the life of the community and become engaged in various suitable activities. All persons are urged to join through their organizations, or as individuals; or if they are not already in a suitable organization they may organize themselves if they desire and thus join the community association.

The Waialua Community Association has secured land and has erected a fine community center building for one non-plantation area of the District. The Waialua Agricultural Company, Ltd., has been most co-operative in improving conditions for its people; it has erected clubhouses, gymnasias, swimming pools, game courts, etc., and has developed bathing beaches. The community association has a full-time man and a full-time woman with suitable part-time assistants employed, and the plantation has a large staff to handle the social, recreational, and health features of its personnel.

Excellent health clinics have been sponsored by the community health committee. The library committee has established a branch of the Library of Hawaii and two substations thereof. The home demonstration committee sponsors three cottages with groups of women. The Woman's Exchange teaches crafts and has a sales market. The kindergarten committee sponsors two kindergartens.

Other projects carried out so far by the Association include: international music nights; heirloom exhibit; classes for adults in English, mathematics, automobile mechanics, chorus, instrumental music, band, lauhala weaving, cooking, art, and shop work; an average of more than one public entertainment each month; lectures; boxing bouts; Thanksgiving musicales; May Day-Lei Day festivals; Washington's birthday celebrations; a two-day cooking school; and a course in recreation leadership. The University of Hawaii, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, the Library of Hawaii, the recreation commission, the Board of Health, the Department of Public Instruction, and other agencies have lent a helpful hand. Plans are well along to provide a mobile dental unit for needy rural areas.

An illustration of the regard the people of the community have for the Association is furnished by the case of the Waialua Civic Club (composed of young American citizens of Japanese ancestry, most of them non-plantation people). This club cut across all racial and group lines and gave \$3,000 from its funds to

aid in the community-wide drive to raise a community center building fund. Prior to the influence of the community association this group had planned to use its funds for its own racial work.

There is nothing basically new in the program of the Waialua community association. Things which this association is doing are being done elsewhere by other communities in Hawaii. However, the whole field of social needs is considered and plans to meet these needs are made by the co-operative efforts of all firms, churches, schools, clubs, etc. This is the essence and the strength of the community association. Organization is proving to be the proper method for securing rural life improvement.

There is a growing community spirit. The plantation and non-plantation people of the district are becoming more friendly and more co-operative. There is a wholesome tone of community interest and accomplishment.

Other associations in addition to that at Waialua, and about half a dozen others, may start later; but the main thing is that there is a great increase of interest in rural life: All over the Territory the rural districts are becoming true competitors of the city, and a reversal of the cityward movement in Hawaii has begun.

The Community Association of Hawaii
Honolulu, T. H.

FRANK E. MIDKIFF

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

I. INTRODUCTION

Among a number of interesting social problems confronting northwest Florida is the one of old age assistance in an agricultural county which retains many characteristics of the Old South, especially its large Negro population, surviving plantations, and its cotton tenancy system. A casual discovery in the State Welfare Board's local office that a disproportionate number of the applicants for old age assistance were Negro prompted the current inquiry into the social backgrounds of the county's old age cases, with a view to ascertaining the major factors contributing to aged dependency among both Negroes and whites. Some of the questions which this investigation seeks to answer are:

1. To what extent is the economic insecurity of old age in Leon County a race problem?
2. What survival traits of slavery, if any, are to be found in the cases of destitute old Negroes?
3. What bearing has the county's declining agricultural resources upon the size of the case load? To what extent does old age assistance in this setting reflect a collapse of cotton tenancy?

II. SCOPE AND METHOD

1. *The Setting*.—A knowledge of the local area, its population and natural resources constituted the first step of the study. From Federal and State Census reports and from interviews with key persons (social workers, agricultural experts, county government officials, teachers) the information gathered indicated

a county basically rural and biracial in character, having a high percentage of tenant farmers, a Negro population outnumbering whites three to two, a large proportion of old people and children, an excess of females, and a fluctuating total population relatively static for the first two decades of the century, with a sharp increase (44 per cent) in the ensuing 15 years, largely attributable to the doubling in size since 1920 of the county's one urban community (Tallahassee).

In natural resources and land utilization, Leon County appears to be definitely on the "down grade." A 50 per cent abandonment of land in the last half century and an 80 per cent erosion (or subject to erosion) of the present farm land speak for themselves.¹ Furthermore, a downward trend since 1900 in both the number of farm owners and the number of farm tenants (from 640 to 566 for the former, and from 1775 to 994 for the latter) is also suggestive of a decline in agriculture as a means of livelihood for the county's inhabitants, and, perchance, is in part responsible for the disproportionate number of Negroes (the majority ex-slaves) now receiving old age assistance. Leon County's few remaining large plantations, part of the "cotton belt" of ante-bellum days, but now largely converted into hunting grounds by Northern capitalists, bear silent witness to the days when "cotton was king." Though greatly reduced in acreage and yield per acre—a 60 per cent drop recorded over a 25-year period—cotton still remains the chief source of cash income for Leon County's farmers. The inadequacy of that income is apparent in the average of \$75 that was realized by the cotton growers of the county last year, an amount from which rent had to be deducted. With 75 per cent of the cotton grown by Negro tenants, mostly unsupervised, with continuous cotton cropping year after year, with neglect of terracing of hilly ground, there is no mystery about the falling rate of crop acreage and production and the subsequent transformation of abandoned farm lands into hunting preserves and grazing land, and all that that implies of absentee ownership and a lessened demand for farm labor.

Brief mention should be made of the Federal government's three soil conservation projects, scattered loans affecting a comparatively small number (100) of the submarginal farmers, and of some employment opportunity for the submarginal farmers living near the turpentine and lumbering industries in the sandy, southern part of the county. In the latter connection, a map study relating soil condition to distribution of old age cases disclosed the significant finding that proportionately fewer applicants for old age assistance come from the "poor soil," smaller Negro population section of the county than from the "better soil," cotton-growing section with its 20 per cent larger Negro population. Seemingly this substantiates the previous indication that a collapsing tenant system is at the root of the county's agricultural decline.

2. *Analysis of Old Age Cases.*—Against this agricultural background, a 60 per cent alphabetical, colored and white sampling of the present active case load of the county recipients (numbering 300 cases) was made to determine the personal characteristics, family connections, economic factors, and housing conditions of aged dependents. Under personal characteristics, tabulations were made of

¹ Estimate of the County Agricultural Agent.

race, sex, age, nativity, present residence, former relief record, health, attitudes, and original slave status. For family connections, information was sought concerning the number, whereabouts, economic condition, and influence of children. The influence of other relatives and nonrelatives on the client was likewise checked. Of chief interest in the economic inquiry were the factors of ownership of homes, income of any kind, rent paid, employment history, and budgetary needs. Home conditions pertain principally to size and appearance of dwelling, care taken of it, degree of satisfaction in present home, and so forth. Supplementing a statistical attempt to compare standards and needs of Negro and white cases is a detailed study of "type" cases for determining the sequence of factors leading up to the need of public assistance—with the prospect of finding evidence in attitudes and behavior of surviving slavery influences, i.e., of psychological dependence on the white man's guidance in practical matters as a conditioning factor in the aged Negro's economic helplessness.

It is planned, if feasible, to extend the scope of the investigation to other Florida counties showing similar natural and human resources as a check on the validity of the findings in Leon County.

III. TENTATIVE FINDINGS

To date, some tentative conclusions are indicated in a partial summary of the local study, and in three sets of correlations between certain factors contributing to aged dependency in the state as a whole. First, for the local study, there appears to be a race problem in the fact that against a county population three-fifths colored, three-fourths of the sampled old age cases are Negro. Furthermore, the rural residence of 63 per cent of the 223 Negro cases—in a county farmed principally by tenants, 82 per cent of them colored—would imply a problem of tenancy as well as a problem of race. Confirming this impression is the positive correlation ($.37 \pm .07$) found between tenancy and the size of the case load for old age assistance in the 66 counties of the state for which data were available.

Next, as to personal identification, a composite picture of the typical recipient of old age assistance in Leon County is clearly that of a Negro inhabitant of a dilapidated shack on some large plantation, struggling along by "patchin" a few acres of cotton or feed crop, one who is a native of the county—left "stranded" from slavery days—illiterate, reared in the Baptist religion, widowed, living apart from the children, in relatively good health, 75 years of age, and more often a woman than a man. How well memories of slave days linger in the minds of some of the 77 per cent born in slavery is indicated in such remarks as, "I was eight years old when Freedom cried, kase I was big enough to fan flies off de white folks' tables," or "to keep de pigs from de cawn." One old Negro, recalling the sight of her mother on the auction block, exclaimed with pride: "She fotch a big price, kase she was a fast breeder."²

That children today provide little protection against the economic hazards of

² Quotations from an unpublished manuscript, "Vignettes of Slavery," by Mrs. Emeth Tuttle Cochran, former director of Old Age Assistance in Leon County.

old age is well demonstrated in the record of an average of 4.9 children born to the Negro clients and 3.8 children to the white clients. Some allowance must be made in the Negro cases for the high mortality rate among children kicked by mules, bitten by snakes, falling in the fire, dying of chills, etc. Despite expressions of willingness to assist (more often made by the white children than the colored), the subsistence standards of most of the living descendants of these aged dependents prevent the fulfillment of good intentions toward parents, especially on the part of Negro children, 45 per cent of whom were themselves recipients of charitable aid prior to or at the time of this study. A striking instance is related of an aged Negress helping to support her two married daughters. In another case, a 65-year-old son of a Negro applicant was himself seeking old age assistance. That white parents in Leon County have slightly more security from their children than do Negro parents is evidenced in the larger earnings of the white children (when employed), the 25 per cent smaller number of them on relief, and their decidedly more stable marital adjustments. One might add here the familiar observation that "common-law" wives present no particular problem for cotton belt Negroes, young or old, save in such an instance as that where a client appealed for an increase in his allowance because "in supporting a woman who is not your wife you have to treat her well to make her stay."

How much "spiritual comfort" or companionship aged dependents derive from their children, other relatives, and friends can be gauged by the 11 and 17 per cent of the total number of children, colored and white, respectively, living with their parents (approximately one child to a client) and the presence in the home of one other relative, on an average, usually a grandchild or great-grandchild. One old woman adopted some of the neighbors' children after her own children had left home. But "outside chillun" were more frequently illegitimate offspring than neighbors' children. On the whole, the evidence points to a somewhat *lonelier* condition for the Negro client. With both races, relatives as well as children are reported as "too poor" to render any appreciable material assistance to the "old folks."

Finally, a comparative analysis of the economic status of Negro and white applicants for old age assistance reveals certain small but essential differences in the planes of living of the two races. In only one item out of ten do the Negro aged appear to have the "advantage"—if such it can be called—of insurance, 57 per cent of them having burial policies costing on an average of 12 cents a week as compared with only seven per cent of the whites having insurance, payments averaging 59 cents weekly. In all other items (home ownership, differential earnings, etc.) the aged whites present a somewhat less destitute picture. For them, in comparison with the Negroes, there is a six per cent higher proportion of home ownership, 11 per cent fewer renters, 60 per cent fewer with tenant background, a \$12 differential in earnings last received, 17 per cent fewer instances of poor housing and household furnishings coupled with an average of one more room to the home, a \$2.50 larger monthly budget need (ranging to a top figure of \$30 compared with \$15 for the Negro applicant), and a previous relief record in 14 per cent fewer cases—all indicating a relativity of poverty favoring the

white applicant. Further indication of the lower standards and fewer needs for those with slavery and tenancy background is the work on a "subsistence level" reported in the employment history of more than 50 per cent of the colored cases. More eloquent, perhaps, than any statistics in this regard are the expressions of the Negroes themselves when receiving government aid—often their first real money in years: "I'se gwine eat a heap of meat and fish"; "I'se gwine buy a bran' new dress which I ain't never had but once"; "I'se want a real bed to sleep in."

In conclusion, the relief story of Leon County's aged dependents suggests a problem reflective of the social heritage of slavery and related in no small degree to a sick or dying tenant system in which the Negro has been, and still is, the chief victim. For the state as a whole, aged dependency appears to be not a race problem, inasmuch as no correlation was found to exist between the presence of the Negro and the size of the "old age" case load in the 66 counties of the state. Instead, the evidence of the research on this project to date points to an economic condition independent of the race ratio of the various counties. A positive correlation of $.57 \pm .09$ between rural population and aged dependency, a negative correlation of $.46 \pm .06$ between land value and aged dependency, and a $.37 \pm .07$ positive correlation between tenancy and aged dependency would seem to indicate that economic insecurity of old age in Florida is definitely a rural social-economic problem, a socioeconomic maladjustment victimizing members of both races. Finally, from a regional standpoint, the fact that the cotton-belt counties of north Florida do not show an above-average case load might well indicate not so much condition of actual need as of an administrative policy based on race differentiation in standards of living.

PAUL W. SHANKWEILER

LEPLAY SOCIOLOGY IN ITALY

Among the many contributors to the theory and methodology of sociology, Frederic LePlay holds in many respects a unique place.¹ Not only is he practically alone in having founded a distinct school in sociology, but his method of studying the sociology of the family has persisted to the present time, without necessity of any major changes or apologies. This note summarizes recent Italian studies of the same type. That the contribution of LePlay has survived diffusion in both time and space is fairly adequate demonstration on *Wissensoziologische* grounds of its importance.

The series of monographic studies of Italian rural families is edited and published by the National Institute of Agrarian Economics (Istituto Nazionale de Economia Agraria). They carry the general title of *Monographs of Rural Families* (*Monografie di Famiglie Agricole*). Although agricultural social science was a subject of study in a few Italian colleges before the World War, it was only

* ¹ See C. C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton, *Family and Society* (New York, 1935). See also P. A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), chap. II; here he devotes an entire chapter to the LePlay school, the only chapter devoted to the work of a single man and his followers. LePlay's monographic studies, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, were first published in 1855.

after the war that any widespread, concerted exploitation of the field was undertaken. Professor Serpieri, who had previously served in the Ministry of Agriculture, was in 1923 made Under-Secretary of Agriculture in the Ministry of National Economy. Soon afterward, the Institute of Agricultural Economics and Statistics was established, and later (1932) the National Institute of Agrarian Economics (I. N. E. A.) was made a separate organization.

The I. N. E. A. was established to undertake research in agricultural and forest social science. It was to study particularly the needs for general legislation in agricultural development and rural class organization. In addition to the central office it has eight regional centers scattered throughout Italy. Since its foundation, the Institute has published a large number of studies, through both the central office and the regional centers. These include individual studies by agricultural social scientists and a number of LePlay type monographs on the peasant family. The 13 volumes of family monographs discussed here represent only one phase of the research activity that has been, and is currently, carried on in reference to the Italian rural population.

The investigation of rural family life was undertaken by the I. N. E. A. as a supplement to the purely economic research into rural conditions. While the economic researches are by no means limited to quantification, the need was felt to understand intimately the life of the landworkers. The word "need" is well chosen, since the studies are not the product of "idle curiosity," but are eminently practical in purpose. The studies are motivated largely by the interest of the Fascist government in the rural social and economic life of the Italian people. The special focus of attention thus is in "changes encountered in these later times, and especially since the war, in the level of life and in the psychology of the peasants, thus arriving at a knowledge of the desires and needs which are still not satisfied."

In carrying out the various investigations it was necessary to have a certain division of labor, since no one person had all the qualities necessary for satisfactory editing, to say nothing of collecting the materials. Obviously, in order to gain information of the intimate life of the families selected for study, it was necessary to choose investigators who were familiar not only with the region but with the particular families. Thus the actual data were largely collected by students at the various regional agricultural schools, priests, doctors, and by interested and intelligent proprietors. The editing of the studies was carried on by those trained in rural social science, principally in the regional *Osservatori*. These latter also had the task of editing a general outline of the territorial conditions in which the family lives. The central Institute arranges the general distribution of the work, and the publication of the monographs. Each of the volumes published in the series, with the exception of two devoted to the Sicilian peasants (IV and IX), deals with a different geographical region of Italy. The series as a whole represents practically a complete coverage of the Italian rural areas. A few more monographs are promised, together with a synthetic conclusion summarizing the results of the investigations now being prepared by Ugo Giusti.

The monographs represent the conscious and consistent use of the LePlay method of family study. This method is set forth in the *Guide* of Professor Serpieri, and use is also made of the suggestions of Coletti, a follower of the LePlay method. The monographs of each region are introduced in every case by a demographic, geographic, and economic description of the region, with pictures and maps. This is followed ordinarily either by a generalized description of the conditions of the families of the rural class under consideration—sharecroppers, small proprietors, farm laborers—or of the socioeconomic problems of the region. In some cases both are included.

The monographic studies themselves, varying from two to seven in each volume, follow the LePlay outlines closely. The subjects covered may be enumerated as (1) place, (2) civil status, (3) religion and moral habits, (4) hygiene and health service, (5) rank of the family, (6) property, (7) subventions, (8) work and industry of the family, (9) foodstuffs and eating, (10) house, furniture, and clothing, (11) recreation, (12) history, (13) customs and mores assuring well being of the family, (14) analysis of income, (15) expenses, (16) accounts annexed to the record.

The various studies deviate somewhat from rigid adherence to this outline. Almost all of the subjects are given at least cursory attention in every study. In some monographs, however, similarity of certain conditions to those revealed in other monographs in the same volume makes repetition unnecessary. In certain cases complete materials were not available because of the recency of migration to the territory, reticence of the family to reveal certain aspects of its living, or other causes. In some studies several of the items may be combined into one, and in others additional introductory items are included so that the total number of items may vary two or three in either direction from the original 16. These are all minor variations adopted to meet the circumstances of collecting and editing the materials. Of more importance is a variation in the character of the item corresponding to number 13 above. As in the original studies made by LePlay, this is one of the most important sections of the monographs, but for slightly different reasons. LePlay here attempted to determine the mores and institutions which assured the physical and moral well being of the family, such as attitudes which assured pleasant relationships with the employer, habits of thrift, hereditary family property, etc. The Italian monographs, as previously indicated, are tuned to the practical needs of the peasant family. It is at this point in the presentation of the materials that the unsatisfied needs and desires of the family are indicated. While these are based on the specific conditions of the family in question, the typological character of the studies makes the materials of more general interest for the class and region.

Following the actual monographs, each volume has a bibliography of related materials on the economic or social conditions of the region, and an appendix containing reprints of any previously published monographs on the families in the region. The combination of these features rounds out the studies to give a fairly complete picture of the available materials for any region. The discussions

of the region, family status, housing, etc., are illustrated by maps, pictures, and floor plans.

Obviously enough, the possibility of generalization for any region or rural class, or the combination of the two, depends on the families chosen for study. True to the LePlay tradition, the typological method was followed closely. But many difficulties are presented in finding a type which will reveal all the major characteristics of the economic position and geographical region without exaggerating any feature. This could not be arrived at statistically, since the main statistical sources are the family budgets. The latter may vary widely, both quantitatively and qualitatively, without greatly affecting the family type. It was in the attempt to secure type families that the regions for study selected were those having sufficient territory to assure a fairly large population, yet of sufficient agricultural homogeneity to assure a certain uniformity in the living conditions of the inhabitants. Having fixed the territory and type of the family to be studied, there remains the task of finding a family whose characteristics correspond to those most frequent in the region, or better, several families which represent the principal variations from the type. Sometimes the regions were typological and the families typical and *vice versa*.

This typicality, of course, must be interpreted broadly, since there are qualitative differences of varying degrees of importance between any two families, however homogeneous their life and activities. In certain respects the validity of the choice may be checked against general statistical and economic materials available for the region as a whole. It may again be pointed out, furthermore, that the choice of the families and the study of them was not simply external, but was made by those familiar with the region and the families in question. Thus formalized selective criteria were supplemented by intimate acquaintance with details which could escape strictly external consideration.

Of the total of 62 families for which monographic studies were made, 37 showed a saving for the year in which the study was made, while 25 suffered a loss. The latter group was composed largely of the poorer sharecroppers who incurred additional debts. The average income of the families studied was L. 11,457, with a range from L. 2,430 to L. 80,800. (A lira was about five cents in American money.) The average farm and living expenses were L. 10,648, with a range from 2,519 to 67,910. Both farm and living expenses are given in the reports. There was an average saving per family of L. 809. The range, however, in this case was from a loss of L. 8,415 to a saving of L. 12,890. More families showed savings in the later than in the earlier studies. Since the studies cover a period of six years (1931 to 1937) it is possible that a general improvement in farm economic conditions is reflected. It is also true that the earlier studies included a larger proportion of tenant farm families, whereas the later monographs are more nearly devoted to farm proprietors and large plantation tenant families. The combination of the two factors probably accounts for the tendency noted.

The figures in the budget are computed from real and estimated income and expenses. The value of farm contributions to family living at local retail prices was estimated. Some of the gains and losses therefore may be "on paper." A

combination of such items may produce the appearance of a net saving, whereas there is no money income saved. The gains were oftentimes reflected in increased inventories.

It is obviously impossible to trace in any detail the findings of the studies. Reference to the bibliography, where the titles of the volumes are translated, will indicate the agricultural classes and the regions covered. Although it is difficult to state conclusions applicable to regions and classes varying so widely in economic life, the studies reveal that all of the regions suffered from the postwar economic instability. In certain cases (such as the sharecroppers of the valleys of the Pesa and Chianti) this has resulted in a more or less temporary breakup of the large stem family. As a whole, the peasant family is indicated as being sufficiently strong to withstand economic changes.

It should be noted in passing that the family budget is given less emphasis in these studies than it was given by LePlay. The primary reason for this is the smaller importance attached to strictly quantitative aspects of the monographs as revealing the well being of the family. A secondary consideration was the difficulty of securing necessary information to complete all the items in the classical model, and the difficulty of securing *normal* figures for a period of rather rapid economic fluctuations. This is not so much a change in structure as a change in emphasis upon parts of the original scheme. It does not appear to limit the validity of the studies, but may, on the contrary, meet the objection that LePlay overemphasized quantification.

So far as the comprehensive LePlay theories of family and society are concerned, the Italian studies are not of outstanding significance, because the purpose of the monographic investigation was eminently practical, and the investigations are confined to a *single* society—the Italian corporative state, where, with few exceptions the rural family type does not vary from patriarchal to unstable, but is that of the *famille souche*.

In any science, the realms of theory and practice are not coterminous. Many things are of practical importance in the application of science which have no implications for the theoretical system. On the other hand, it is well known that considerations of prime theoretical importance affect practice little, if at all. In the present studies, the focus of attention is upon the practical needs of Italian peasants, not upon sociology of the family as such.

Although varying in size and strength, the typical Italian family studied represents the *famille souche*. This is equally true in the strong Sicilian family—though the family is fairly small owing to emigration—and of the very large plantation family of the Trevigian March.² This and the fact that the studies are limited to a single society serve to indicate that the familiar relationships between family type and simple and complex societies drawn by LePlay would here be impossible. However, if similar series of studies were to be extended in Italy to urban families of various classes, similar comparisons of theoretical interest might

² Cf. Vol. 10 of the *Monographs*. Some of the families have as many as three or four stems, in addition to the main stem; the head of the main stem is the head of the entire family.

be drawn. Likewise, if a series of studies of the same extensive and intensive character could be made in a number of countries, the LePlay theories could be subjected to modern testing and revision. Without the advantages of a central organization responsible for uniformity and extension of the investigation, similar studies would be difficult elsewhere. From practical viewpoints, as well as theoretical, a national extension of American studies such as these might well be undertaken. The character of the studies and their utility in a modern interpretation of family living seem to demonstrate the lasting value of the model and method of Frederic LePlay. The adoption of this type of study at this time in Italy is indication of a revival of creative interest in rural life.

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THE FARMER GOES TO THE MOVIES

When farm families look for entertainment, one of the favored diversions is "going to the movies." Lack of funds or limitation of facilities may be responsible for the less frequent attendance than is the case among urban families, but nonetheless, the moving picture show is one of the main attractions for rural families bent on relaxation.

According to a preliminary report just issued by the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, an average of 20 per cent of the farm family's recreation money is used for this form of entertainment. At least this was true for a 12-month period in 1935-36 for which data were assembled in the Study of Consumer Purchases, sponsored by the Bureau of Home Economics and financed by the Works Progress Administration for the employment of statisticians, clerical workers, and other qualified persons taken from the relief rolls.

The statistics on expenditures for moving picture tickets were arrived at through an analysis by the Bureau of Home Economics of the accounts of 14,570 farm families from which these data were assembled by W.P.A. workers employed in the Study of Consumer Purchases. This analysis revealed that a majority of the farm families attend moving picture shows during the period covered in the study.

"Rural interest in the movies, as reflected by expenditures and number of families," the preliminary report states, "showed wide variation in different sections of the country. Only a few clearly defined trends are evidenced, indicating that the movie habits of many farmers are influenced more by the tastes and habits of the immediate neighborhood than by regional lines. The Pacific Coast, and especially California—where pictures are made and farm families are likely to know a star or the friend of a star—showed the most active interest in movies. Eighty-two per cent of the California families studied attended at least one movie during the year. Of the part-time Oregon farmers living near Portland, 80 per cent had expenditures for movies; and the Washington-Oregon farm families did not lag far behind since 74 per cent reported some money spent on this item of recreation. On the whole, more Northern families showed interest in the Hollywood productions than families of the Southern rural areas. A notable exception was found, however, in the Pennsylvania-Ohio area where only about

one-third of the families studied spent any money at all for movies during the year."

While one might have expected the contrary, differences above and below the Mason and Dixon line were not apparent for the percentage of total recreation expenditures, according to the report. The analysis by the Bureau of Home Economics reveals that for white farm operators' families in New Jersey the percentage of expenditures for movies of the total spent for entertainment was 30.8; in California 28.4; and in both Georgia and Mississippi, 25.1. At the lower end of the scale for white families, the percentage for North and South Carolina was 15.2; for each of Pennsylvania and Ohio the percentage was 14.5; and for Michigan and Wisconsin the figure was 13.8 per cent.

"In the Southeast," the report states, "movie attendance was much more common among white than among Negro families and more common among families of farm operators than of sharecroppers. Nearly half the white operator families studied there reported movie expenditures, but only one out of every three white sharecroppers spent any money at all for picture shows during the year. The average expenditure of the 2,209 Negro families of the Southeast was about \$1.00 per family per year, operators spending about the same as sharecroppers. Except in the Southeast, expenditures of white families only were studied."

Works Progress Administration

A. W. VON STRUVE

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

DISADVANTAGED AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

"Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture,"¹ a publication of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, sets forth in bold relief the sore spots in rural life in America. Data marshaled from many sources, with exposition and charts based thereon, drive home to the reader the impression that low incomes, bad lands, tenant and hired labor status and concomitant disadvantaging conditions of low standards of living, dependency, and migration are dire circumstances affecting large segments of our agricultural population.

Among conditions emphasized by the authors are the following:

1 During the depression at least 3,500,000, or one out of every four rural families in the United States, had received public assistance at some time.

2 There is tremendous mobility among farm families, indicating attempts of hundreds of thousands to find more satisfactory adjustments than they have at present. Approximately 3,000,000 persons move from farms to towns and cities or from towns and cities to farms each year. Over 1,000,000 farm families move from one farm to another each year.

3 There are more than a half million farms in the United States on land that is so poor that it will literally starve the families living on it if they continue to try to make a living by farming it.

4 In 1929 approximately 1,700,000 farms on which lived some 7,700,000 people yielded \$600 or less gross farm income, based upon value of products sold, traded, or used. A few more than 900,000 farms yielded less than \$400 income, and almost 400,000 yielded less than \$250.

5 It is a conservative estimate that one third of the farm families of the Nation are living on standards of living so low as to make them slum families.

*A Survey of the Demand for Agricultural Labor in Oregon*² presents in narrative, graphic, and tabular form, information relative to the fluctuation in employment of farm laborers in 28 major crops for the state and six major regions. The labor needs of the state viewed seasonally reach a peak in July, when 22,712,534 man hours are required. There are minor peaks during the spring seeding period.

¹ Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, United States Department of Agriculture, *Social Research Report No. VIII*, Washington, April 1938 (multigraphed, pp. 124).

² H. H. White, *A Survey of the Demand for Agricultural Labor in Oregon*, Oregon State Planning Board, Salem, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 17, tables).

in March and during the harvest of hops, prunes, and other crops and fruits in September. Although hay harvest during July requires 8,859,000 man hours, or twice the number of man hours required in the raspberry harvest, it does not represent such an acute problem because the latter is a more perishable crop concentrated chiefly in Willamette Valley. Hay is distributed over the entire state, thus enabling various local supplies of labor to be tapped.

In a report *Types of Tenant Areas in Tennessee*³ 13 separate regions with different tenancy rates, conditions, and problems are delineated. It is stated that tenancy in the state increased from 34.5 per cent in 1880 to 46.2 per cent in 1935. Seventy-eight per cent of the colored farmers are tenants. Nearly one-fifth of all tenants in Tennessee are related to their landlords. In one area in the Western Highland Rim one-fourth are related; in another area in the southwest-ern portion of the state one-tenth are related.

A study of "Some Legal Aspects of Landlord-Tenant Relationships"⁴ discusses statutory provisions unfavorable to the establishment of satisfactory landlord-tenant relationships in Iowa. Present laws hold the tenant responsible for waste of and damage to a landlord's property, but there is no statute requiring that the tenant be reimbursed for any improvements he may effect. Under Iowa law the landlord may collect triple damage for waste; this right, however, is seldom abused.

The landlord's lien provision which, in the case of a cash rent lease, entitles the landlord to seize the tenant's crops, livestock, farm equipment, and household goods, except those covered by statutory exemption, puts the owner in a strong position. When the usual lease provision waiving the exemption rights is in effect, the landlord is in an even stronger position, and the tenant may experience difficulty in procuring production credit. Crop failure or low prices make it difficult for the tenants operating under such conditions.

Farm tenants with indefinite contracts should be entitled to a six months' period of notice of termination of lease rather than one month's notice, as in the case of urban leases. In fact, urban and agricultural landlord-tenant relationships should be covered by different statutory provisions. Other recommendations are made which are calculated to make for better tenure relationship.

*The Problem of Unemployment and Poverty of Farm Hands in Agriculture*⁵ is the title of an agenda for the annual conference of the International Confederation of Agriculture which met in Prague, July 9, 1938. Summaries and digests of papers on farm labor problems and their solutions, prepared by 22 experts from separate countries, are included. The countries are classified according to

³ Charles E. Allred and E. E. Briner, *Types of Tenant Areas in Tennessee*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, June 15, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 46).

⁴ Marshall Harris, A. H. Cotton, and Rainer Schickele, "Farm Tenure in Iowa; Some Legal Aspects of Landlord-Tenant Relationships, V," Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 371, Ames, April, 1938 (pp. 63).

⁵ M. André Borel, *Le Problème du Chômage et de la Pénurie de Main-d'Oeuvre dans l'Agriculture*, Confederation Internationale de l'Agriculture, Prague, July, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 84).

the types of problems with which they are confronted, and the conclusions of all the papers are synthesized.

POPULATION

The Problems of a Changing Population, a report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, published in May, 1938, represents one of the most complete compendia of knowledge ever assembled on the population of the United States. Few factors related to population migration, health, education, and reproduction are left untouched. Some of the conclusions reported are the following:

1. There are great regional divergencies in the level of living of farm people. For example, the average value of farm products per male agricultural worker during the middle 'twenties was \$672 in the Southeast as compared with \$1,495 for the rest of the country.

2. In the counties having the lowest material level of living, 77 per cent more children were born than necessary to replace their parents, as compared to 17 per cent for counties with the highest level of living.

3. The inequalities of educational opportunity that exist between rural and urban communities constitute a challenge to our ideal of democracy. Approximately a third of the Nation's children live on farms and nearly half of them attend rural schools; in general, it is the rural child whose formal education has been most neglected.

4. As a class, the total farm population is supplying about 60 per cent more births than are necessary for replacement. The most fertile class is farm laborers followed by farm renters; the least fertile are farm owners. Analysis of 1928 birth registration reports indicated that reproduction rates of the professional and business classes were from 15 to 25 per cent lower than requirements for replacement.

5. Rural people die in relatively greater numbers from the diseases of childhood—measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria—and from certain of the diseases of adolescence and young adult life such as tuberculosis. Toward conquering these diseases medical science has made great progress. City people have a higher rate of mortality from the diseases of adulthood—heart disease, cancer, nephritis, cerebral hemorrhage, diabetes mellitus. Against these diseases medical science has made less progress.

6. Under maximum conditions for natural increase, the United States may reach its population peak of approximately 158,000,000 within fifty years; under minimum conditions 139,000,000 may be reached by 1955. In this case a decrease of 10,000,000 may occur during the next quarter century.

7. The total number of births per year reached a peak in the years 1921-1925. There has been a general trend toward decrease in births since then.

8. The Nation must face the serious problem of a rapidly increasing group of older workers. From 1935 to 1975 there is predicted an increase of 69 per cent in the number of persons 45-64 years of age as compared with a 6 per cent increase in the number of persons 20-44 years of age.

9. A more favorable distribution of the open country population in relation to economic resources depends on an increase in employment opportunities arising from a general revival of industry.

10. The increase in the farm population from 1930 to 1935 must be attributed to a movement from cities and villages to farms accompanied by a slowing down of interchange of population between farms and town. People who moved to farms settled, not so much in poor isolated farming counties as is often assumed, but on part-time or subsistence farms in or near industrial and mining communities. Sixty-four per cent of the total increase in farm population took place in these industrial and mining counties. This increase was due largely to the fact that there was little or no movement outward.

11. Sixty per cent of all occupied hospital beds in the United States are now assigned to patients suffering from nervous and mental diseases.

12. More research in population is needed to develop a sound population policy. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and the Population and Research Divisions of the Bureau of the Census and other agencies dealing with population should be strengthened.

A report, *Recent Migration into the Pacific Northwest*,⁶ estimated that 36,000 families migrated from drought areas into the rural communities of the Pacific Northwest from 1930-1937. These settlers, according to the report, tended to gravitate toward problem areas. One survey made through rural school teachers and county agricultural agents in the state of Washington estimated that 50 per cent of the new settlement had occurred in problem areas. In Oregon, the largest settlement was in the counties of lower average gross farm income. Another study disclosed that of 20,917 recent settlers in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, 48 per cent had made farms on unimproved land, 24 per cent had obtained farms previously abandoned, and 28 per cent had obtained going farms or subdivisions of going farms. This plus other evidence indicates that such unguided resettlement is unsatisfactory, leading to misuse of natural resources and a perpetuation of human deprivation.

With reclamation and use of all available land, probably 150,000 new farm units is somewhere near a maximum which an expanded agricultural development may anticipate in the area. Among other recommendations are the following: that all irrigation construction be speeded up; that where possible new good land be brought into use by reclamation; that land classification and zoning work be expedited; that settlers be granted public credit to enable them to establish themselves on holdings which will allow them to attain an adequate standard of living; and that general and work relief regulations be modified to mitigate dire distress among migrant families.

Migration into Oregon 1930-1937,⁷ indicates that the large immigration of 53,329 persons was doubtless caused by climatic conditions in the Great Plains States and other sections of the country. This two-year period supplied almost

⁶ Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, Portland, Oregon, May, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 38).

⁷ V. B. Stanbery, *Net Migration and Population Estimates*, I, Oregon State Planning Board, Salem, February, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 96).

twice as many migrants as the previous five years, when there were 28,201 migrants.

"Population Trends in Minnesota"⁸ indicates that that state's population has not been keeping pace with the five neighboring states. A report of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research states further that 40 of the 87 Minnesota counties in 1930 had suffered a decline in population. From 1920 to 1930 the entire rural section of the state actually lost population, and all but seven counties and a few of the larger cities were losing people by migration. A stable population had been reached by 1930 in 75 per cent of the area of the state.

The recent population growth in Minnesota is practically 100 per cent urban. This is due to a large internal migration movement from the farms to the cities. Conversely, the population of most of rural Minnesota is on the decline owing, not to natural causes such as the excess of births over deaths, but to the inability of a portion of our farm population to maintain a satisfactory standard of living, thus causing migration to the cities and to other states.

A county analysis of the growth and distribution of Nebraska's population, both rural and urban, as well as an analysis of its color, nativity, and origin, is presented in a State Planning Board Report.⁹ Data included in text, charts, and tables give vital statistics of age, sex, and marital status of the population as well as an analysis of gainful workers and families.

A similar report has been received from Canada.¹⁰

A Works Progress Administration report¹¹ upholds the thesis that in the past most migrants to cities were from poor land areas. It is estimated that during the decade 1920-29, 60 per cent of the migrants from the land were from the South, the bulk of them coming from poor land areas. The problem area of the southern Appalachians contributed large numbers. About 25 per cent of the 1920 farm population in the mountain area which included Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia have since left their farms. The report deals chiefly with modern technological developments in industry and agriculture—productivity, production, employment, and re-employment of displaced workers.

PART-TIME AND SMALL ENTERPRISE FARMING¹²

A field investigation including schedules from 4,746 white and colored families located in seven counties in representative block sample areas depicts the relative advantages of part-time farming and full-time industrial employment. Description of goods produced on the farms and in the gardens of the part-time

⁸ "Population Trends in Minnesota and What They Mean," Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, *State Governmental Research Bulletin No. 8*, St. Paul, June, 1938 (pp. 36).

⁹ *Nebraska's Population*, a preliminary report by the Nebraska State Planning Board, Lincoln, December 15, 1937 (pp. 136).

¹⁰ *The Population of Manitoba*, a preliminary report published by the Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 185).

¹¹ David Weintraub and Irving Kaplan, *Summary of Findings to date, March, 1938*, Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, Philadelphia, 1938, (pp. 156).

¹² B. L. and R. B. Hummel, *Part-Time Farming in Virginia*, Works Progress Administration of Virginia, Division of Rural Research, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 89).

farmers is given, and comparisons are made with other part-time farmers and full-time industrial employees, as revealed by studies made of other areas.

The average part-time farmer lived slightly farther from his work, was slightly older, had not quite so good an education, received slightly lower industrial wages, received less cash family labor income, had a greater household indebtedness, had fewer household facilities and conveniences, but received a greater gross annual income, was more frequently a home owner, lived in a larger and more valuable house, had a larger family, enjoyed lower costs of living, and, judging from organization participation and leadership, had "a better community spirit."

Sixty-six per cent of the part time farmers owned their homes and 2.4 acres of land, which was the average farm for the sample. The average part-time farmer earned \$835 in industrial employment, at which he worked almost full-time, or 234 days. In addition to this, the family made \$180 cash equivalent from the part-time farm. The home garden, averaging 68 acres, made the chief contribution from the farm. Over two-thirds of the families kept poultry, over half owned hogs, but over two thirds of the white operators and nearly three-fourths of the colored part time operators grew no field crops.

The authors conclude that part-time farming does not seriously interfere with the marketing of agricultural products produced for sale and that it is apparent that under present conditions there will inevitably be a widespread and significant expansion of part time farming in Virginia.

"Shall We Move to the Country—A statement of the opportunities and problems met in acquiring and managing a small farm"¹⁸ is the title of an Experiment Station and Extension Circular by R. C. Ross, *et al*. It sets forth the advantages and disadvantages of the small farm in Illinois, indicating sources of credit and giving other advice for persons contemplating operation of small farms. Included are tables showing the amount of vegetables per person to plant and other foods to produce in order that the families' needs may be supplied. Amounts of feeds necessary for certain livestock combinations are also included.

RURAL YOUTH

In a study made by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, *Youth Tell Their Story*,¹⁴ first-hand information and opinions were secured through personal interviews with 13,528 young people between the ages of 16 and 24 living in the state of Maryland, a sample which the authors feel exhibits to a great extent the characteristics of the national youth population.

The youth studied were grouped according to such characteristics as age, sex, race, marital status, residence, parentage, education, and economic status. The general questions included in the interviews concerned home life, education, employment, leisure time activities, religion, and attitudes toward such subjects as

¹⁸ College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, *Circular No. 479*, Urbana, December, 1937 (pp. 31).

¹⁴ Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, a study of the conditions and attitudes of young people in Maryland between the ages of 16 and 24, conducted for the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Washington, 1938 (pp. 273).

wages, relief, child labor, the suffrage, employment of married women, war, and the youth problem. The outstanding conclusions drawn from the data made available by these interviews were that the youth consider their greatest problems economic in nature, and that it is very exceptional for a youth to rise above his father's economic level. The forces operating to cause this condition are the association of presence in a low occupational group with low income and large families, and consequent limitation of educational opportunities for the children, who in turn are forced into low occupational groups by lack of educational opportunities, employment at an early age, early marriage, and large families of their own. It is suggested that what is needed is more effective educational, vocational, and recreational programs for all youth.

RURAL DEPENDENCY

"Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief"¹⁵ is the title of a Works Progress Administration report which analyzes the extent of as well as the results of the removal of families from Emergency Relief Administration rolls between June and December, 1935, in sample rural counties in Montana, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Iowa, West Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.

Projects of the Works Progress Administration, the Bureau of Public Roads, and other Works Program agencies furnished the major source of employment of the former Emergency Relief Administration cases. Those cases that were unable to find employment either on the Works Program or in private industry or to get aid from the Resettlement Administration numbered one out of six or seven in most of the states.

Federal funds for general relief to such cases were being rapidly exhausted in December, 1935, and some of the states had not yet accepted responsibility for general relief to the needy within their borders. They were leaving the entire task to local governments, often impoverished from the effects of the depression.

From 7 to 17 per cent of the total number of rural families formerly on Emergency Relief Administration rolls of the seven states were depending on relatives and friends, surplus commodities, loans, sale of personal belongings, and other miscellaneous sources. From 3 to 8 per cent reported no income at all in the month of December. The states studied represented a variety of conditions, both with regard to the administration of relief and opportunities for private and other employment.

An Experiment Station Bulletin¹⁶ attempts to answer the question, What is the extent of old age dependency in relation to the total aged population in South Dakota? It also analyzes data relevant to accepted, rejected, and pending applications for old age assistance. Although the Federal Government through the

¹⁵ Rebecca Farnham and Irene Link, "Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph XIII*, Washington, 1938 (pp. xxiv, 115).

¹⁶ John P. Johansen, "The Extent of Dependency upon Old Age Assistance in South Dakota," Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station of the South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, *Bulletin No. 318*, Brookings, February, 1938 (pp. 46).

Social Security Board has assumed more than one half of the cost of old age assistance, state outgo for this item is so great as to rank with the largest expenditure for any purpose. Between three and four out of every ten aged persons in the state need public assistance. Since during 1937 there was a shortage of state funds, all the 15,397 needy and eligible aged did not receive aid.

In order to compare the relative dependency of different age and sex groups and groups of various national origin and lengths of state residence, several methods of estimating the number of persons over 65 years of age were tested. Among the findings of the study are the following:

- 1 In South Dakota the aged population as a whole is rapidly increasing in numbers.
- 2 Economic and financial conditions during the past decade have depleted the resources of persons now reaching the age of 65 or 70.
- 3 There was a marked tendency as the assistance program developed for an increasing proportion of applicants to come from the age group from 65 to 70.
- 4 It is doubtful that the burden of support of the aged will be assumed by legally responsible relatives.
- 5 The rate of dependency in South Dakota was lower than that of the two neighboring states of Minnesota and Montana but greater than the two adjoining states of Nebraska and North Dakota.
- 6 The rate of dependency in South Dakota had not reached a stable level.
- 7 Dependency was relatively higher in the western than in the southeastern portion of the state where climatic, economic, and other conditions had resulted in a lower rate.
- 8 Not a single applicant for old age assistance or relief during 1932-36 has come from some of the colonies with high family and kinship solidarity, such as those of the Hutterian Brethren.

LEVEL AND COST OF LIVING

In order to depict the level of living of farm and village families in South Dakota, more than 1,875 families in six counties, representing the eight farming areas in the state, were interviewed.¹⁷

Practically every family in 25 block samples was contacted. In most cases the block samples constituted whole townships and villages, which were selected on the basis of their representativeness as determined from available census and other data.

Among the findings of the study were the following: (1) During 1935 the average annual value of living, including all goods and services consumed by the 1,101 full and part time farm families in the open country, was \$1,111, that consumed by the 774 village families, \$874. (2) The total value of living was correlated positively with the proportion of this living used for automobiles, clothing, health, advancement, and incidental expenditures, but negatively with

¹⁷ W. F. Kumlien, Charles P. Loomis, *et al.* The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, Agricultural Experiment Station, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, *Bulletin No. 320*, Brookings, March, 1938 (pp. 63).

that used for food, housing, and maintenance. (3) In most respects increase in the size of family had the same effect upon the internal adjustments of the budget as did decrease in income or total value of living. (4) Among the higher income groups as compared with the lower, "conspicuous consumption" played a more important role in the village than in the open country in the case of expenditures for automobiles, housing and home furnishings, and clothing—this latter especially during the courtship and marriage age. (5) With families at different stages in the life cycle there was a positive correlation between the work energy available and the total value of living. (6) Seventy per cent of the open-country families had not moved between 1930 and 1935, as compared with 50 per cent of the village families. (7) The greater the number of moves recorded from 1930 to 1935, the lower the total value of living. (8) There was a remarkably high positive correlation between the number of school grades completed by both the male head and the homemaker and the value of living of the families in all tenure and residence groups.

In order to depict patterns of consumption in different economic brackets, about 10 per cent of the families in San Juan were visited. Field work resulted in 2,645 usable schedules. Some of the findings were:

1. The average size family consisted of 6.1 persons. (This was one person more than reported in the last census.)

2. The number of persons per family was larger in the higher income group.

3. Rice was the most important food in the diet of the people. There was an annual per capita consumption of rice of 132 pounds as compared to 5.4 pounds in the United States. Rice consumption was greater in the lower income families, decreasing as the family income increased. The same was true also for beans, but for such foods as milk, meat, eggs, and fruit, there was an opposite trend.

4. Although the average income of the families studied was estimated at \$1,254, approximately one-third of the families fell below the \$600 mark.

5. The latter part of the report is taken up with the presentation of figures showing the relative amounts of these principal food products that were bought at the different types of stores and markets.¹⁸

A study¹⁹ made recently of the living expenditures of 70 Negro farm families in Texas reports an average value of living of \$574 of which \$143 was furnished from the farm. Only approximately one-third of this amount was reported as allocated to food, which is extremely low for families of this income level. Evaluation of the use of the house or rent was omitted.

"Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas" is an Experiment

¹⁸ S. L. Descartes and S. Diaz Pacheco, "El Consumo de Alimentos en la Cuidad de San Juan, 1937: Consumo per Persona, Consumo y Posicon Economica, Feuentes de Abastecimiento de Frutos Monores," University of Puerto Rico, *Information Mimeograph No. 12*, Rio de Piedras, January, 1938 (pp. 21).

¹⁹ Walter L. Harrison, *A Study of the Living Expenditures of Seventy Negro Farm Families in Waller County, Texas*, Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas, 1933 (pp. 16).

Station Bulletin based upon an investigation of 322 families living in a typical Ozark community.²⁰

Average medical expenditures were \$27 per family, of which 44.8 per cent went for services of a physician; 19.9 per cent for unprescribed medicine; 17.6 per cent for prescribed medicine; 5.5 per cent for hospital services; 5.1 per cent for dental care; 4.1 per cent for practical nurses; 1.2 per cent for chiropractic services; 0.8 per cent for registered nurses; 0.5 per cent for midwives; 0.2 per cent for ambulances.

The higher the income of the family, the better the condition of health, the less the incidence of illness, and the greater the average expenditure for funerals; the less the indebtedness for health services, the greater the total expenditure for medical care, and the less the proportion of total income which went for medical care.

The family income was related more closely to these factors than was type of residence (including distance of dwelling from physician's office and whether the family lived in the village, valley upland, or mountains) or tenure and occupation. However, people who lived within one mile of a doctor used his services in a greater percentage of their illnesses and more times per case than those who lived farther away. Village families had the highest per capita incidence of disease (1.00), and mountain people the lowest, .62. Village families spent more money for prescribed medicine and upland families for unprescribed, while mountain families made the greatest use of herb remedies, had the highest indebtedness for medical care, and used the doctor's services to the least extent.

Highest proportions of stomach trouble and rheumatism were found among people of the lowest income groups. People with the highest incomes were relatively free of stomach trouble and malaria.

The infant death rate was abnormally high; of all deaths during the last five years one-fifth occurred during the first year of life. Most of these deaths occurred in the low-income, mountain, and upland families.

"Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities,"²¹ a Works Progress Administration investigation, reports that at a *maintenance* level, at which normal and average requirements for industrial, service, and other manual workers are supplied, a four-person family living in Washington would expend \$1,415, whereas the same family in Mobile would expend only \$1,130. These cities represent high and low cost of living extremes at the maintenance level, whereas, at the *emergency* level, which level takes into account economies which may be made under depression conditions, the highest cost was \$1,014 in Washington as compared with the lowest, \$810, in Wichita.

Among the major items included in the standard budget, food costs varied least among the cities—rent costs varied most. Among subgroups with wide cost

²⁰ Isabella C. Wilson and William H. Metzler, "Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas," University of Arkansas, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 353*, Fayetteville, April, 1938 (pp. 39).

²¹ Margaret Loomis Stecker, "Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March, 1935, Fifty-Nine Cities," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph XII*, Washington, 1937 (pp. 216).

variations were those services such as refuse disposal and school attendance, which were supplied from the tax fund in some communities and not in others, also taxes, transportation, fuel, and ice varied greatly from city to city. Chief among causes for variation were geographical location and size of city.

Three hundred and fifty-seven rural relief families, and 714 of their nearest nonrelief neighbors all living in the three Colorado counties, Baca, Elbert, and Larimer, are compared in a study which was a part of a 1933 national survey.²²

As is true for the Nation, the relief heads of households engaged in agriculture were relatively more frequently farm tenants and laborers than was the case for nonrelief heads. Also the relief heads of households as compared with nonrelief heads tended more frequently to be under 35 or over 54, had had more unemployment since 1920, were more mobile, had smaller farms and livestock inventories, had made less progress on the agricultural ladder, and had, for all age groups, completed fewer grades in school, and their children were more frequently retarded. The relief households consisted more frequently of broken families and contained more dependents. An analysis of the source of migrants to the three counties during the preceding three years is given.

RESETTLEMENT

To what degree of accuracy can governmental agencies use selection criteria in choosing families which will make satisfactory settlers, or tenants who will develop into good owners in the case of the Bureau of Reclamation and Farm Security Program, or creditors who will make good risks in the case of the Farm Credit Administration? There has been little experience in America to throw light upon the general problem of methods of judging entrepreneurial ability or the extent to which a family will be an asset to his community generally.

"Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project,"²³ a study, involving 136 families, tests a selection technique used nine years previously. An examining board consisting of three members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior graded eligible applicants as to industry, experience, character, and capital during 1927 and 1928. Ratings were made from mailed applications and recommendations. In 1936, after nine years, the same families were again rated, this time as to success, effort, and social standing in the community. This rating was tested and found valid on the basis of field interviews made with 54 families.

Positive correlation between the combined scores for the two ratings proved that the rough initial rating scale was valid and that if large numbers of applicants had applied for homesteads, many of the unsuccessful and undesirable would have been eliminated.

Summarizing, it may be said that, of the four initial subratings, only the one on former farming experience shows a definite correlation with the quality of the selected applicants as revealed later by their activities on the homesteads. The other three show but a slight correlation. This is especially true of the subratings

²² Olaf F. Larson, "Rural Households and Dependency," Colorado State College, Colorado Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 444*, Fort Collins, May, 1938 (pp. 48).

²³ Marie Jasny, "Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project. Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California," United States Department of Agriculture, *Social Research Report No. V*, Washington, June, 1938 (multigraphed, pp. 88).•

on industry and character, because of the fact that in cases of doubt high ratings were given. On the other hand, the few low ratings on these criteria later proved to be largely justified.

The selection method of the Bureau of Reclamation therefore appears to be a fairly satisfactory instrument for forecasting the future success of a prospect, provided it is used by a reasonable selection board. The board working at Tule Lake in 1927 evidently did a particularly good job in reducing the statements on former farming experience, exaggerated in many cases, to reasonable proportions.

There was no correlation between original scares and the tendency of settlers to sell out and leave. All but 48.5 per cent of the families studied did leave during the nine year period. The study includes an analysis of the reasons for selling and leaving their homesteads, chief of which was 'sale for speculation'. The report contains recommendations for development of selection criteria for resettlement projects as well as suggestions for reducing the large turnover on reclamation projects.

In order that the social factors involved in a proposed scheme of resettlement might be taken into account along with the economic, field interviews were made of 147 families in a proposed evacuation area and 236 families living on farms adjoining the optioned tracts to which it was proposed that the former families be moved.²⁴ Study and comparison of these two groups enabled the authors to make constructive criticism of the proposed resettlement scheme. Regulations and proposals of the Resettlement Administration were not in keeping with the objective of raising the standards of living for the more needy families. If the aged relief families, nonfarm families with their high relief incidence, and the broken families could be provided for, the families which would be left in the proposed evacuation area would be a group of self supporting families, clustered for the most part in successfully integrated neighborhoods. Some families were more in need of internal family adjustment than they were of farm adjustment. Resettlement would not solve their problems.

Even 25 families which, because of their present type of farm economy, would be likely to have fewer difficulties in making the adjustments in the new and more commercialized type of farms in the resettlement area, would have to make sacrifices in their nonmaterial level of living if they were moved as planned.

Community participation charts showing visiting and exchanging work relationships, as well as the location of families upon whom the interviewed families were dependent for emergency aid, indicate that quite highly integrated communities might be broken up if families were resettled on scattered holdings. This was especially true of one Bohemian community. The total value of living for the families to be resettled (excluding house rent) was \$651, that of the families living on farms bordering those to which the families would be moved, \$874.

The report should serve as a severe warning to any agency which in the future

²⁴ George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, *Man Land Adjustment: A Study of Family and Inter Family Aspects of Land Retirement in the Central Wisconsin Land Purchase Area*, Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, *Research Bulletin No. 134*, Madison, February, 1938 (multigraphed, pp. 80).

attempts to resettle people without due consideration and study of the social and cultural aspects of the situation.

Three hundred families in the Beltrami Island Area in the Northern Minnesota Cut-Over absorbed \$20,000 to \$30,000 annually from public funds, above what they paid in taxes for the support of schools, roads, and relief.²⁵

These families were among those to remain after the lumber resources were exploited. Appraisers' records indicated that their cash income averaged \$317—a little less than half of which was derived from farming; also there was a 90 per cent tax delinquency. Living off the country supplied the minimum physical needs for food, clothing, and shelter. Distress was chiefly due to lack of sufficient cash income to pay for public services. Children were practically denied education beyond grade school; medical service was often not available because of distance or poor roads; and churches were not well supported.

As a result of the efforts of the Resettlement Administration and the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, most of the families have been placed upon better soil, their financial position has been definitely improved, and they can now obtain public services which they could not afford previously.

Appraisal and purchase of the land to be developed as a forest and wild life reserve were made not on the basis of market value which often approached nil, but the saving in taxes which would be accomplished by relocating the families.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

"The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations,"²⁶ an Experiment Station Bulletin, is the first of a series of studies of its kind. It reports the results of interviews with 2,925 operators living in four counties. The number of organizations to which farmers belonged was found to be correlated positively with size of farm, assessed value of farm, permanence of residence, and grades of school completed. Whether or not a man belonged to a church was less often related to these factors than was absence or presence of membership in other organizations.

Owners belonged to more organizations than tenants. The organizations represented in the chief combinations to which the operators belong include the Church, Grange, Dairymen's League, and Farm Bureau.

In a doctor's dissertation presenting a historical treatment of four rural Catholic parishes in Nemaha County, Kansas,²⁷ is traced the development of an agricultural group, the solidarity of which is based on a common national origin as

²⁵ R. W. Murchie and C. R. Wasson, "Beltrami Island, Minnesota," University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 334*, University Farm, St. Paul, December, 1937 (pp. 48).

²⁶ W. A. Anderson, "The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations," Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 693*, Ithaca, November, 1937 (pp. 28).

²⁷ Gilbert Francis Wolters, *A Socio-Economic Analysis of Four Rural Parishes in Nemaha County, Kansas*, Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, 1938 (printed, pp. 202).

well as a common religion. A large proportion of the parishioners were Germans who by hard work and frugality had built up prosperous farms and thriving parishes. But the 20 years following the World War witnessed marked changes in the community. Agricultural reverses and modification of the culture of the group combined to lower standards of living, particularly the nonmaterial aspects, but there are still indications of greater solidarity than is found in most rural communities, among which are: the large proportion of young people remaining in the community and on farms; the continued influence of the Catholic church and schools; and the infrequency of mixed marriages between Catholics and members of other religious groups.

"Farmers' Purchasing Associations in Wisconsin,"²⁸ in 1934 handled approximately 15 per cent of the farm supplies purchased in the state, supplies with a retail value of some \$14,000,000. The purchasing associations were classified into four main groups: petroleum, warehouse, general store, and combination associations. General farm organizations, such as the Grange, the Equity, the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, and others, sponsored such associations. In the past, mortality among these organizations was high, none of these recently organized associations has become inactive, although about 40 per cent of all associations organized since 1910 had ceased to operate in 1935. The study disclosed that local associations, in general, were weak in membership and organization work.

A study of 175 co-operative creameries located in Minnesota concludes that there are indications that they are not adjusting their organizations and operations as readily as they should to important developments which the industry has experienced in recent years.²⁹

"Cooperative Fluid-Milk Associations in Iowa,"³⁰ is a study depicting the problems, organization, and history of the co-operative marketing of milk in the state. Ten associations in the leading cities had 6,195 members in 1935. All associations have written contracts with producers. "The contracts provide a \$25 fine for each violation. Most associations, however, have had no occasion to resort to legal means of enforcing the contracts." Violations arise most often out of misunderstandings.

In addition, the following bulletins have been received:

Louise O. Bercaw and Annie M. Hannay, "Bibliography on Land Utilization, 1918-36," United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 284*, Washington: January, 1938 (pp. 1,508).

A. G. Black, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, "Toward Farm Security,"

²⁸ Rudolph K. Froker and Joseph G. Knapp, "Farmers' Purchasing Associations in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with Co-operative Division Farm Credit Administration, *Bulletin No. 20*, Washington, October, 1937 (pp. 118).

²⁹ E. Fred Koller and O. B. Jesness, "Minnesota Cooperative Creameries," Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, *Bulletin No. 333*, University Farm, St. Paul, September, 1937 (pp. 82).

³⁰ Paul E. Quintus and T. G. Stitts, "Cooperative Fluid-Milk Associations in Iowa," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the Co-operative Division Farm Credit Administration, *Circular No. C-103*, Washington, September, 1937 (pp. 72).

- United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No 308*, Washington 1938 (pp 23)
- A L Boynton and E L Kirkpatrick, *Improving our Rural Civilization*, Youth Section, American Country Life Association, New York January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp 29)
- Esther M Colvin and Josiah C Folsom, Agricultural Labor in the United States, 1936 1937, United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No 72* Washington March, 1938 (mimeographed, pp 205)
- Estimated Number of Families Owning Radio Sets in the United States, January 1, 1938*, Joint Committee on Radio Research Washington April, 1938 (mimeographed, pp 26)
- Don T Gray and C C Randall Annual Report of Extension Service, Extension Service, College of Agriculture University of Arkansas, United States Department of Agriculture co operating *Extension Circular No 405*, Fayetteville, Arkansas February 1938 (pp 70)
- H B Hawthorn, The Culture of Sioux City Youth Morningside College, *Research Bulletin No 3* Sioux City, Iowa December, 1937 (pp 24)
- Information for Prospective Settlers in Alaska, Alaska Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Alaska, *Circular No 1*, College, Alaska June 15, 1937 (pp 39)
- J W Jones, Membership Relations of Cooperative Associations, Farm Credit Administration Co operative Division, *Bulletin No 9*, Washington October, 1936 (pp 111)
- Mary G Lacy, Librarian Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No 1*, rev , Washington January 1, 1938 (mimeographed pp 26)
- John W Manning, Government in Kentucky Counties Bureau of Government Research, University of Kentucky, *Local Government Study No 2*, Lexington 1937 (mimeographed, pp 54)
- Charles Frederick Reid and Nathan Habib, *Compilation of Sources of Information on the Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States*, 3rd ed , Series A, Bibliography of Guam, sponsored by the College of the City of New York, New York 1937 (mimeographed, pp 37)
- J W Studebaker and Chester S Williams, Choosing Our Way, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, *Bulletin No 1937*, *Miscellaneous Publication No 1* Washington 1938 (pp 118)

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

The Culture of Cities. By Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1938. Pp. xii, 586. \$5.00.

I like to underline the interesting passages in a book which I own. This volume has more underlining than any which I have read in many years, which is the best evidence of my estimate of its significance. It is full of challenging theses, whether you agree with them or not, and no rural sociologist who wants to get a new view of his job can afford to neglect it. It is a natural and fitting sequel to the author's *Technics and Civilization*, and with it shows the influence of Patrick Geddes, to whom he frequently refers. The book is essentially a functional analysis of the sociology of the city in relation to its cultural product.

In his introduction the author characterizes the city as the seat of civilization and states his central thesis of redirecting the structure and function of the city so that it may become the means of a richer life. The first chapter is a masterly description of the medieval city in which he shows how it originated and persisted because of its protective function. He holds that for its time it was much more efficient functionally than is the modern metropolis. Its life was dominated by the Church, and the Church was its essential nucleus. He then sketches the transitional period of the city from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries with the development of the Baroque plan under the influence of the court life of the new modern kingdoms. Then comes the rise of the industrial city of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulting from the use of coal and steam power, with its consequent effect of making the factory the controlling institution of city life. This is the paleotechnic stage of the city, "the insensate industrial town." The "Rise and Fall of Megalopolis" is a natural sequence, and the decadence of the modern metropolis is painted with deep shadows. This chapter is a veritable jeremiad against the domination of the modern metropolis by the profit motive. Although he pays high tribute to the unique contribution of the social settlement, one has the feeling that he hardly gives sufficient analysis to the structure and values of the modern city.

The heart of his argument as to the objectives which should govern city development is brought out in two chapters on "The Regional Framework of Civilization" and "The Politics of Regional Development." He visions the ideal urban civilization as a complex of cities of from 5,000 to 50,000 population functioning as cultural centers for their regions. It is a polynucleated city or cluster of communities. Unfortunately his concept of just what a region is is rather fuzzy and inexact! Evidently the region is the hinterland of the city, but with many cities in an industrial section this is a different concept from that ordinarily implied by the term region.

The last chapter on "The Social Basis of the New Urban Order" outlines his

concept of a 'biotechnic economy' in which a city is planned for producing the good life of all its people rather than for the profit of the few. He sees the school as the nucleus of the future community. Although one may agree with his ideals, yet one must recognize that he presupposes a revolution in the economic order to make this possible. He brings out that the stabilization of population will put a stop to the rapid increase of the unearned increment of city land, the chief foundation of the present urban economy, and that the automobile and the extension of electric power will tend to disperse industry, but he gives no hint as to how the modern metropolis may be reorganized except by decay and rebuilding. There is but casual reference to the group life of the city, attention being focused upon its chief institutions, government, and physical plan.

The 32 plates of illustrations reveal all phases of the structure and life in the evolution of the city, and 44 pages of bibliography reveal the breadth of his research. The fundamentals of his biotechnic economy are sound and set new goals for civilization, goals which are already gripping the imagination of the people. It is a book to reread and to ponder. One cannot do it justice in a brief review.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Fifth Avenue to Farm By Frank Fritts and Ralph W. Gwinn. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938. Pp. viii, 282. \$3.00.

We Farm for a Hobby—and Make it Pay By Henry Tetlow. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1938. Pp. xii, 200. \$2.00.

What People Said By W. L. White. New York: The Viking Press, 1938. Pp. 61. \$2.75.

American Village By Edwin V. Mitchell. New York: Stackpole Sons. Pp. 261. \$3.00.

Mabel Tarner By Harry Kemp. New York: Lee Furman, Inc., 1936. Pp. 352. \$2.50.

Rural sociology has an existence of its own entirely separate from any academic discipline. This is in answer to the rural economist who is addicted to lifting his eyebrows and inquiring, 'What is rural sociology?' *Fifth Avenue to Farm* repeats one of the constant themes of the discipline which is to be found earlier not only in Lapouge's *Les Selections Sociales* and George Hansen's *Die Drei Bevolkerungsstufen*, but in many other works. The theory is that a city civilization exhausts the demographic and spiritual reserves of a land folk until the culture no longer can sustain itself. Lapouge and Hansen use this theory to explain the rising and falling of cultures long before Oswald Spengler made a sophisticated version of it into a best seller. Fritts and Gwinn, however, use the idea as a plea for social action in contemporary America to preserve the 'genetic integrity of our country's future.' Unless some 'mode of life congenial to the instinct to breed' shall be developed and preserved in American life, the society will, after a few gener-

ations, cease to contain any substantial number of persons of high innate capacity for the practices of our high civilization."

We Farm for a Hobby is also a sensible, practical book challenging to rural sociologists, farm economists, and others seeking an answer to the present stagnation (*stockungsspannen*) in American culture. Tetlow moved to a Pennsylvania farm (submarginal land) to farm for a hobby but "made it pay." He concludes "it's the life." His best critical chapter on "pitfalls of accountancy" should be required reading for all budget or farm management investigators. This is particularly important also for students of part-time and "subsistence" farming. The author should be a member of the society so hungry brother members could drop by and sample his fare of ham, scrapple, and souse.

What People Said, by the son of William Allen White, is Kansas, Emporia, and the American mind condensed into a semi-autobiographical study. It is a good yarn based upon actual incidents in Kansas. Its best scene is Emporia on Sunday afternoon, but its greatest contribution is the analysis of the popular mind in a commercial agrarian culture. This mind, full of delusions, works comfortably until a crisis comes, and then a vague public opinion becomes almost vindictive in its blind reaction to the destruction of everything which symbolizes "error." In the book this works out in the 30-year sentence in the penitentiary for Lee Norsex by the Governor, although the judge had promised only 15 years for a plea of "guilty."

American Village, by the author of *The Horse and Buggy Age in New England*, is a charming discussion of early rural Americana, including inns, taverns, stores, barber shops, tap rooms, railway depots, apothecary shops, grist mills, blacksmith shops, early silverware, and rare furniture. It is finely illustrated from pictures taken at Henry Ford's Dearborn Museum in Greenfield village. Its best chapters are on the school and the home, particularly the kitchen. "America won its fight for independence without the aid of spinach" (or love apples—e.g., tomatoes). The kitchen stove, an early American utensil, was the subject of nearly 400 patents "between 1812 and 1847." The book has a bias toward New England and the Northeast and omits much that took place in the South and West. As a result biscuits, stage coaches, tobacco chewing and corn whiskey do not receive their fair share of attention. If, as the author says, "Time is a subject lying so very much at the mercy of physicists and philosophers lately that some people are actually beginning to speak disrespectfully of it," one might also chide the author that Americana is greater than Henry Ford's museum collection. Nevertheless a beautiful presentation and the general prevalence of the Yankee tradition in all our inchoate culture make this work extremely worth while for living room, workshop, or class reading.

The first four books are recommended highly for careful reading in rural sociology. *Mabel Tarner* unfortunately does not strike fire, although Kemp has done a previous book (*Tramping on Life*) which is worth while. *Mabel Tarner* was sent to two reviewers who rejected it. It is listed here for informational purposes.

The Ohio Gateway. By D. E. Crouse. New York: Scribners, 1938. Pp. xvi, 146. \$3.00.

R.F.D. By Charles Allen Smart. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1938. Pp. 314. \$2.50.

Mr. Crouse's book is an artistic labor of love in 24 brief chapters, with a competent bibliography, index, and 25 interesting full-page drawings by the author. It relates Ohio's history from geological times down to about 1850, when the railroad completed the process begun a century before with trail, river, steamboat, and canal. By 1840, the state had a million and a half people and the "Gateway to the West" was safely and widely open. It is a moving essay and a beautiful book.

In a somewhat romanticized, chatty but serious, smart, sophisticated manner, *R.F.D.* presents the problem of the "immigrant farmer"—the urbanite who has gone to the country to find a new way of life. Smart makes it clear that he is no farmer, although as a boy he spent many summers on the farm where he now lives. Thus, he was not a complete urban-alien when he returned "home"; still, after three years on the farm, he is far from being "assimilated"; this assimilation he thinks will take all of 30 or 40 years, and may not even then be complete. He calls his farming experience an adventure in the "wilds of Ohio"; he speaks of "savants"; he tells of milking in a quart cup; he admits that he can't plow or run a corn-planter; he boasts of keeping cocker spaniels and states a desire to become a dog breeder; he calls himself a radical who feels guilty at taking income for the mere act of owning; and says that his hatred of war keeps him from becoming a hunter. He is an intellectual and he is proud of it. He holds that in order to make a start, an "immigrant farmer" should have a specialty yielding cash income, or else should have several thousand dollars in cash. He started with the cash; along with two farms he inherited several thousand dollars in gilt-edged securities, and he apparently abets this with money he makes from writing. (The first printing of *R.F.D.* was 100,000 copies.)

Despite his arty "talking down," Smart has a fundamental respect for the soil and the animals which it supports, including men both on and off the land. He gives four main principles for the self-sufficient farm: conserve the land, buy little, sell little, and (somewhat debatable, he says) practice co-operative buying and selling. There is a moving description of the farm co-operative and the relative unconsciousness of the farmers that they are striking at the very foundations of our economic system. He thinks the "business class" sees this and hates and fears co-operation. Sooner or later the farmers will see it also. The safety of American democracy is largely in the hands of the farmers: they have a deep feeling for the dignity of man and work; they resent all forms of crop limitation and paternalistic assistance; they hate dictation from any source.

"I believe Smart thinks the "immigrant farmer" will be a great aid to the "dirt" farmer in achieving a more articulate understanding of the larger social implications of farming and in adding graciousness and beauty to the dignity and integrity of farm life. He may be right, but it is doubtful whether real farmers

ever will learn much from arty, romantic urbanites; nor will most of the latter learn as much from farmers as Smart appears to have done. However, if the "immigrant farmers" have any children, they may learn as much as Smart.

Miami University

READ BAIN

The Family and the Depression. By Ruth S. Cavan and Katherine H. Ranck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xiii, 208. \$2.50.

This study, the joint work of a sociologist, Cavan, and a psychiatric social worker, Ranck, lends some illumination to the current obscurity of our knowledge concerning the effects of the depression upon the family. Based on the experiences of 100 families for whom detailed records were kept prior to 1929 by the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, it attempts to discover, by means of special interviews in 1934-35, the nature of their reaction to the impact of the depression. Its procedure may be subdivided conveniently into three stages. The first is devoted to an analysis of the personnel and integration of the family before the onslaught of the depression, as recorded by the Institute for Juvenile Research. The second attempts to reveal the manner in which the loss of employment or income modified the prevailing roles, ambitions, and way of life. The third and final phase is a consideration of the various forms, i.e., adjustment, disintegration, or evasion, taken in the resolution of the crisis. This chronological treatment of the main problem is supplemented by three disjointed chapters of more questionable value containing fragmentary surveys of attitudes toward the depression, relief agencies, and social reform, of young people of marriageable age in the depression, and of the depression and mobility. The work is terminated with a brief description of other depression studies and a comparison of their findings with the ones reached in this investigation.

Assuming that the 100 cases constituting the sample were typical, the size of the number would still limit the study to indicative rather than conclusive findings. However, a few significant points seem beyond doubt. The well-organized families encountered the depression with less disastrous results than those already disorganized. The families responded to the depression in essentially the same fashion as they had to previous emergencies. The nonadjustment immediately succeeding the crisis was ordinarily followed by a period of either adjustment or maladjustment. In brief, the relationships of the members of the family to one another somewhat determined the family's pattern of reaction to the depression. But this study did not attempt an analysis of the structure of family relationships, and this unexplored sector still remains a barrier to further advancement in the discovery of the effects of the depression upon the family.

Harvard University

HOMER L. HITT

Social Thought from Lore to Science: A History and Interpretation of Man's Ideas about Life with His Fellows. Vol. I. By Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. Pp. xxiv, 790, lxxxiv. \$5.00.

Writing 18 years ago, one of the authors of this volume, Harry Elmer Barnes,

states that "since the beginning of the present century historical sociology has been the least thoroughly and adequately cultivated of the various fields of sociology." He then goes on to say, "Yet, without a sound knowledge of the genesis of the various forms of human culture and the leading social institutions there can be no complete understanding of contemporary life and problems." In the interim of 18 years, both Mr. Barnes and Mr. Becker have contributed articles and books that have aided in a more thorough cultivation of this field. Now they present one of the most brilliant contributions to a sound knowledge of historical sociology.

There are three things concerning Volume I of this two-volume work about which I wish to comment. First, the content. Beginning with the social ideas of preliterate peoples, the authors conduct the reader across the ancient Far East, the Ancient Near East, then through the Greco-Roman world, the Christian philosophy, down through the middle centuries, Secularism and Humanism, through the rise of conceptions of progress, through the rise of the social sciences, then sociology in particular, and finally through some present-day conceptions of sociology. Historical processes are generated by ideas that result in movements which find expression through men. This study of sociological thought seems not to have omitted any of the basic ideas that were potent, nor does it slight the movements that result. Also, the chief exponents of the ideas are considered. It is truly a fascinating journey through a vast body of sociological material interpreted in present-day sociological conceptions. Second, the style. The presentation of such a body of material could easily have been dull. And perhaps this is one reason why many persons do not study the antecedents of our present social thinking. However, this volume is interestingly written. Third, the notes. Most books add references in the form of general bibliographies. Barnes and Becker incorporate specific notes expanding and elucidating the main ideas presented and then suggest specific references for further study of the ideas. There results an accumulation of reference material from journals, books, and other sources that will stimulate and aid this further study. In other words, this volume is not only a comprehensive treatment of historical sociology itself, but becomes an important source book for further study. Sociologists and social scientists will be grateful to the authors for this volume.

Cornell University

W. A. ANDERSON

Social Thought from Lore to Science. Volume II. By Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. Pp. viii, 385, lxvi (Notes). \$4.50.

Unrestricted by any self-imposed limitations of time and space, Messrs. Barnes and Becker have encompassed within their two volumes one of the most sweeping surveys of social thought yet to appear. The second volume of *Social Thought from Lore to Science* attempts broadly to characterize developments since the time of Spencer, as well as the present status of sociology in more than 30 countries. Those who are weary of prolixity in the social sciences can see at

once that in assuming such universality of scope the authors have forestalled all likelihood of supererogation.

A brief review does not suffice to indicate the contents of the work, but it may be said that many teachers of sociology will feel indebted to the authors for having brought together between the covers of one book what is at least a running commentary on a great mass of material not easily accessible to the average student. Volume II mentions in a general way many developments which are entirely unknown to any except specialists. Likewise, the notes will serve as a guide for American readers to secondary and source material on the neglected contemporary sociologists of Eastern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, Latin America, and the Orient. In many instances one gets scarcely more than a tag for a theorist or a school, and for some of the countries little more than a few sentences. Yet in a treatise which bears the subtitle "Sociological Trends Throughout the World" one could not expect a very exhaustive delineation of particulars. Enthusiastic undergraduates and the general reader, however, will gain a modicum of knowledge about a large number of names and trends, and the presumption of a survey course (for which the book was apparently designed) is that an offhand knowledge is better than none at all.

Scholars will find the chapters on French and German sociology to be the most satisfactory, though they may be somewhat perturbed on the whole by the Baedeker-like journey over much of the geography of social thought. The chapter on "Sociology in the United States" contains single paragraph summaries of the trends in social psychology, quantitative methods, human ecology, social pathology, etc., and for good measure throws in short descriptions of leading departments in the country. Like many of the others, this section is rather summarily strewn with a wide variety of names and movements.

To agree with Mr. Jerome Davis (Introductory Note) that the volumes are a "brilliant and comprehensive treatment of social thought" is perhaps optative, for any endeavor to combine the qualities of an atlas, an historical compendium, an annotated bibliography, and a critical analysis, necessarily leaves much to be desired in the way of thoroughness. An awareness of these difficulties is expressed by the writers in the preface: "Oftentimes we have looked problems boldly in the face and passed on, 'feeling that the specialist who is kindly disposed toward our venture will give us the benefit of the doubt.'" At any rate, the authors deserve credit for the temerity and facility with which they approached their difficult task. *Social Thought from Lore to Science* is written in an easy, familiar style uncommon in sociological treatises, and the work has many original and practical features. Regardless of their various shortcomings, these volumes will be useful in any library and certainly are worth investigating for textbook purposes.

Newcomers and Nomads in California. By William T. Cross and Dorothy Embry Cross. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937. Pp. ix, 149. \$1.50.

Technology, Corporations, and the General Welfare. By Henry A. Wallace. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. 83. \$1.00.

Wage and Hour Legislation for the South. By H. M. Douty. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. 26. \$.15.

Man and Society. Edited by Emerson P. Schmidt. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv, 805. \$3.75.

The little volume by the Crosses contains much of interest to the rural sociologist. Utilizing a wide variety of methods and materials, this study throws much light upon the problems which have arisen on the receiving end of the depression and drought-forced migration. Charts are included which show clearly that California's native white population has been recruited from the corn-belt, while the recent influx of "crowded-out," homeless wanderers came most largely from the neighboring states of Arizona and Oregon, Washington, drought-stricken Texas and Oklahoma, and far-away New York. Little Connecticut and Massachusetts contributed as heavily as any southeastern state. Rather careful descriptions of the various emergency agencies used by the state and federal government are also of interest. A lengthy bibliography is a valuable appendage to the work.

Three short essays, "The Impact of Technology," "The Impact of Corporations," and "Government and the General Welfare," make up the volume by Mr. Wallace. In it he sets forth his belief in "the possibility of developing an ever more powerful technology, directed more definitely towards the conservation of human and natural resources by a new type of corporation, a new type of labor union, and a new type of farm organization. . . ." The rural sociologist will challenge the theory of economic determinism implicit in the book. Many others should doubt the wisdom of dismissing, in an essay devoted to the General Welfare, such important agencies as W.P.A., P.W.A., C.C.C., and Resettlement, with statements about amounts spent; where the money went; that it was used for soil, dams, and roads; and references to wealthy business men, cutting expenditures, reducing income taxes, and reducing expenditures.

The pamphlet by Douty, the ninth in a series of *Southern Policy Papers*, attacks the problem: "What can be done to attain fair minimum standards in southern industry?" It recommends shorter hours, better enforcement of labor legislation, and most of all, the passing by states of minimum wage legislation.

Those rural sociologists who have a responsibility for the elementary social science course may find Schmidt's work of considerable value. Specialists from the various social sciences have contributed chapters. Besides Schmidt, the contributors include: E. D. Monachesi, J. O. Hertzler, W. D. Wallis, Herbert Blumer, H. P. Longstaff, George B. Vold, L. D. Steefel, R. A. Hartshorne, E. L. Kirkpatrick, Joseph R. Starr, Richard L. Kozelka, and Mary J. Shaw.

Scholastic, Economic, and Social Background of Unemployed Youth. By Walter T. Dearborn and John W. M. Rothney. Harvard Bulletins in Education, No. 20. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938. Pp. xi, 172. \$1.50.

This valuable study is in reality an examination of the employment status of 1,360 young people of both sexes whose chronological ages in November, 1935, averaged about 21 years, in relation to their personality ratings, their educational attainment, ranking in school, general intelligence test scores, school activities, and other criteria by which success in school is commonly measured. The youth were selected from the cases upon which background information was available through the Harvard Growth Study, begun in 1922 and continued for 12 years in two Massachusetts cities. The study included detailed measurements taken at regular intervals, careful records of school marks, tardiness, year of leaving school, and specific personality traits on the other hand. These background data were used in interpreting information obtained by questionnaires which were filled out by 1,360 youth of the 1,540 to whom they were sent. The questionnaire covered 16 general topics: Employment status, means used in trying to obtain employment, schooling, occupational training, future occupational plans, means used in obtaining employment (for persons employed), present position (for employed), employment experience, salary level (for employed), acceptable salary to change position, attitude toward employment (for employed), lowest acceptable salary (unemployed) attitude toward unemployment (for unemployed), previous training, attitude toward existing economic conditions, and attitude toward education.

The findings are surprising, almost startling. School attainment below the college level as measured by teachers' marks, regularity of attendance, grade attainment, etc., bore little relation to future success in obtaining employment, especially during the depression. The young people commonly attempted to enter occupations for which they were potentially unfitted. Furthermore, leadership in extracurricular activities availed little in gaining employment on leaving school. The boy or girl who worked part-time while in school had more success finding employment afterwards. Boys who graduated were more successful in finding jobs than nongraduates, but with the girls graduation made no difference.

The conclusions tend to confirm the position that keeping youth in school is not going to solve the unemployment problem among them. A brief résumé of the literature bearing on the topics studied is given.

Works Progress Administration

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Dynamic Causes of Juvenile Crime. By N. D. M. Hirsch. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1937. Pp. 250. \$3.25.

This reports a clinical study of 604 juvenile delinquents (about 90 per cent of whom were recidivists) examined by the Wayne County Clinic for Child Study, an affiliate of the Juvenile Court of Wayne County, Michigan. The first three chapters consider briefly the etiological categories in delinquency, recent studies of youthful offenders, and clinical procedures adopted in this research. The

author emphasizes particularly the work of the Gluecks. Working independently of each other, three psychologists (one of whom was Dr. Hirsch) studied the case material gathered by the clinicians, analyzing the summaries and interpretations of the psychologist, psychiatrist, and social worker in each of the 604 cases. The investigators

limited the major causal factors in each case to four with a possible minimum of one major cause. Ten causal points were allotted to each delinquent. The analysis then was one of accounting for 6040 points. If the psychologist found only one real etiological factor involved it was counted ten points. If the maximum of four causal factors were involved, the primary factor was accorded four points, the secondary three points, the next in significance two points, and the least forceful one point. Determining the average of the three psychologists' analysis and making a compilation of their judgments upon the 604 individuals were the final steps in the procedure.

This 'quasi quantitative' analytical summary of factors attempts to ascertain, and then list in order of their assumed significance, one primary factor per delinquent case, and also several supplementary minor factors.

The major causes of juvenile delinquency are discovered to be defective intelligence, instability, immaturity, hypersuggestibility, psychopathic personality, constitutional inferiority, ego centric, hyperaggressive and quasi paranoid personality, emotional conflicts, inferiority complexes, endocrine-dysbalance, and the questionable factor of home conditions (p. 238).

The broken home and other environmental factors are minimized etiological forces. Hirsch's study indicates a number of highly probable causative factors in delinquency, consequently, it has a distinct significance as a contribution to the study of criminogenesis. It is unlikely, however, that Hirsch's method of rating single factors on the basis of their frequency as primary, secondary, or tertiary factors in individual cases will bring criminologists close to their goal. No factor is fully understandable when it is considered in isolation from the configuration of associated, intimately interrelated elements which form a complex whole. The study of patterns of factors, of types of causal complexes, which may be discovered to recur in great numbers of individual cases, still remains to be developed by criminologists who are engaged in the study of causes of crime. The individual case material presented (116-235) is of distinct value. Furthermore, the author has devoted particular attention to the 'enuretic delinquent,' and his observations upon this topic merit careful consideration by those concerned with the treatment of a number of youthful offenders.

This thoughtful work and the attitude of science which is evident in his research are to be commended, unfortunately, however, there are a number of indications that the proofreading was very poorly done. Many simple words are misspelled, (e.g., 'there' for 'these,' p. 14, line 24, 'Grumberg' for 'Grimberg,' p. 29, last line, 'existant' for 'existent,' p. 34, line 22).

Country Men. By James Hearst. Muscatine, Iowa: The Prairie Press, 1937. \$2.00.

Country Men is a slight volume. It will entertain the rural sociologist who likes fresh descriptions of familiar things. It contains orthodox poems of drought, frost, spring, and love; poems with a philosophical tinge; occasional verses that border on the platitudinous. Behind the bursting of crocus buds and the mowing of the clover, the Iowa farmer goes about his chores. Daily he "fights his way into the steaming barnyard," works "the fields his father sowed," comes in to his "porkpotatoesgravybread and butter," and goes to bed "bound to his wife where ashes of beauty still smoulder." When he dies, his neighbors say of him that "his fields were clean and his fences straight."

James Hearst has done more, however, than phrase a few arresting images; he has struck here and there upon the human soundness of country life. Here perhaps lies the real significance to the sociologist of this volume and others of a similar nature: it shows a recent attempt of some poets at a saner estimate of rural living. The pantheism of Wordsworth and his long line of followers is generally outworn. Poets no longer hope for popular credence if they attribute rural morals merely to a sunset, or rural religion merely to a clod of earth. The cult of the rural, like that of the primitive, has burned many of its shrines. At the same time, most soil poems have ceased to be narrowly mechanistic; there was the untruth of exaggeration in the amoral concept of the farmer chained to the rhythm of the crops and the fatalities of the weather. The modern bard of the country is, on the whole, seeking truth, not hyperbole in either its romantic or its realistic mould.

In line with this tendency, James Hearst does not try to sing among the stars or to wallow in the earth. Like others of his time, he is not completely immersed in the effect of nature upon man and of man upon nature, but seems to feel that country life is what it is partly because of the close and simple relations between man and man. He presents no grandiose ethical scheme, no drama of the colossal impact of one human being on another. But he suggests the strength of the closely-knit, landed family in contrast to the wan "parade of the landless, the tenants, the dispossessed," driving away in the snow "until only chairlegs point from the skyline." As the keynote of his poetry, he appears to substitute the stolidity of rural relationships for the earlier religion of fatalism of the soil; and this is reminiscent of what a modern critic has called the "neighborliness" of Robert Frost. A poetry of the land may have new vigor if it is to be based upon the moral dignity of good fences making good neighbors, the homely companionship of friendly visits over stone walls, and the serene permanence of the rural home.

New Jersey College for Women
Rutgers University

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY, JR.

William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands. By E. M. Coulter. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. vii, 432. \$3.50.

This book is a fascinating portrayal of some important aspects of life among

the highlanders of East Tennessee from the 1820's through the days of Reconstruction. Brownlow began his career with ten years as circuit rider. Defending Methodism, and attacking Presbyterians and Baptists, he developed an incredibly vitriolic vocabulary which the folk came in large numbers to hear. His main talent, he truly said, consisted in "piling up one epithet on another."

Turning to frontier journalism he was successful for the reasons that made him outstanding in religious controversy—his capacity for vilification, vulgar and intemperate language, and unremitting pugnacity. Opening his arguments by the wildest *ad hominem* attacks and lowest innuendos, he clinched them by such "statistics" as those with which he indicated the Catholics, who, he charged, had killed 68 million human beings in the course of history "for no other offense than that of being Protestants." If one were to "average each person slain at four gallons of blood . . . it makes 272 millions of gallons!—enough to overflow the banks of the Mississippi and destroy all the cotton and sugar plantations in Mississippi and Louisiana." He was a curious mixture of inconsistencies. While most frontier preachers opposed slavery, Brownlow defended it. Yet he was one of the most influential Unionists in East Tennessee, whipped up the fury of the North by his cries for the extermination, if necessary, of "every man, woman, and child south of Mason and Dixon's Line," and served as one of the harshest of the Reconstruction governors. Though he hated Negroes—except in slavery—and defended planters against the abolitionists, he forced his state to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and maintained his power by organizing Negro voters, and by prolonging the disfranchisement of the white rebels. He disliked Northerners, but was a steadfast Unionist, and encouraged Northern carpetbaggers to help him rule his state.

Brownlow was an unbalanced personality, yet he cut a big figure in his section and in the nation during critical decades of our history. Although employing the techniques of an historian with vivid literary quality, Coulter understands the political, religious, and class alignments in which sociologists are interested. Through the biography of an erratic figure of history he gives us insight into the kind of leadership which disturbed conditions may throw to the top in southern middle-class communities, and something of the background of those poor folk who have migrated from Tennessee west to Oklahoma, and are now pushing on under scourge of drought to the west coast. These modern leaders and migratory folk he does not mention, but they are revealed in the delineation of their cultural ancestors.

University of California

PAUL S. TAYLOR

L'Espansione degli Slavi. By Haskell Sonnabend. Roma: Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione, Serie I, Vol. I, anno 9, 1931. Pp. 239.

Dr. Sonnabend has covered the expansion of the Slavs in a systematic manner, drawing upon materials from many related fields of learning including linguistics, physical anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and history. In his use of these media he has given evidence not only of extensive research, but also of an excel-

lent understanding of the aims, techniques, and problems of the several disciplines. The Slavs are Satem-speaking Indo-Europeans, whose mother speech may have been preserved intact as late as the Christian Era. Linguistic research indicates that they had early and important cultural contacts with the Germans, the Iranian steppe peoples, and the forest-dwelling Finns. From the racial standpoint, the original united Slavs were almost certainly Nordics. It is impossible to identify them with any specific archaeological horizon, but there can be little doubt that they were descended from the Bronze Age cremating peoples of eastern Central Europe. From the ethnological standpoint, they seem to have preserved much of the simple peasant culture of the Neolithic Danubians, the first food-producing invaders of Eastern and Central Europe. Their ethnic cradle, which cannot be located with accuracy, probably lay somewhere in the lowlands between the Carpathians and the Pripet swamps, and between the Vistula and the Dnieper.

The major Slavic expansion was a gradual, peaceful process, brought about by a combination of biological, social, and environmental forces. The Slavs formed, at their period of initial expansion, a homogeneous group of primitive farmers at a stage of social nondifferentiation. Demographic increase under these circumstances, leads to a slow infiltration of a growing population over lands capable of cultivation. It may be contrasted with the more spectacular and less permanent system of invasion followed by the Asiatic peoples, such as the Huns, Avars, and Mongols. The Southern Slavs, cut off from their kinsmen by these Asiatic inroads, themselves took the rôle of rapid conquerors, with the result that the Slavic-speaking peoples of the Adriatic lands and Balkans are racially Dinarics, for the Slavic type was soon submerged by that of the autochthones. The Western Slavs, on the other hand, expanded into a Germany left nearly empty after the passage of the *Völkerwanderung* tribes. Their settlement was followed by an eastward thrust of Germanization which was linguistic and cultural rather than racial. This German *Drang nach Osten* brought a German and Jewish bourgeoisie into Poland, while the peasants remained Slavic. Owing to the social disunity of this system, Poland was easily partitioned. The Eastern Slavs, including the Great Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians, expanded into the vast Russian plain, which they peopled. In the twelfth century the Great Russians moved into the Volga and Oka basins, where they absorbed whole tribes of Finns, and this Finnish amalgamation was the greatest single influence to affect the Great Russians during their entire history. Later they acquired their Mongoloid racial increment, during the Russian counter expansion onto the Tatar steppes, and not during the period of Tatar domination, for the Tatars never settled as agriculturalists in any numbers. Slavic expansion westward is halted by the civilizing force which produces a lessening of ethnic vitality; the expansion eastward, however, meets no such inhibiting influence, and has not yet ended.

The Wasted Land. By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. vi, 110. \$1.50.

This small volume is essentially a commentary on *Southern Regions of the United States*, as the author points out in his foreword, but it is much more than a brief popular summary of the larger factual study. The author draws many inferences of his own and organizes and states them in such a convincing way that *The Wasted Land* makes a definite contribution of its own to the literature of the South and its problems.

The author points out that the South has the three natural advantages which facilitate production of a great civilization, namely, (1) a fertile soil, (2) a long growing season, and (3) abundant rainfall, and that it compares very favorably with other regions in the United States in natural resources. In spite of these and large human resources the South is the poorest of any of them. Why? The author explains the anomaly in one word—waste—waste of men, and waste of money, land, time, and opportunity. Waste has occurred because through a faulty one-crop economy, the human and physical resources have not been used most effectively, with the result that much of the soil and its nutrients have been washed away and hundreds of thousands of young people have migrated to other areas.

In spite of the many discouraging aspects of the future, including the probable complete wreck of the cotton economy and serious weaknesses in statecraft, the author hopefully points to what he considers a satisfactory answer to the South's problems—regionalism. He argues that if the South could think regionally, "all of its other problems would be solved with an ease that would astonish the world." His urgent appeal for regionalism is based on the belief that the South-west needs some central directing authority to collect the many forces and agencies it has already in the field and set them all pulling in the same direction.

To accomplish this will require a reconsideration of the place of the South in the national economy, and concerted efforts to plan the use of the region as a whole to bring about a sense of stability, satisfactory standards of living, and an effective culture particularly adapted to the area. It will require a tremendous educational program to get the people of the South to take a proper inventory that is needed of themselves and their resources and to develop the necessary attitudes to accomplish balanced adjustments in the region. It will take years of writing, talking, discussing, arguing. *The Wasted Land*, through its popularization of important facts and ideas and its courageous attacks upon the basic issues confronting the South, is a beginning step in the necessary educational program. Whether the educational work can be sufficiently thorough to enable the South to present a united front remains to be seen. But if such a united way of thinking could be developed, the South would be able to solve most of its own problems. In those matters in which it would be necessary to secure national legislation or national programs, this united front would insure the South of more nearly accomplishing its goals in competition with other areas.

Marriage in the Lutheran Church. By Gerhard E. Lenski. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. Pp. 377. \$2.50.

The Happy Family. By L. H. Schuh. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1929. Pp. 203. \$1.25.

Lenski's book, *Marriage in the Lutheran Church*, will be of value to all sociologists who are interested in the history and development of the mores and institutions clustered about the family. Although written by a churchman who intends to draw his moral from pointing out historical trends, it nonetheless gives a faithful portrayal of the conception of marriage held by Lutherans today and of the historical factors which have been most influential in the definition of that conception. Inasmuch as the moral ideas, as well as the crystallized dogmas, of all Protestant sects since the Reformation have been influenced by the philosophy of Luther, this book reflects more or less of the attitude of all non-Catholic peoples in the Western world. This is particularly true of the reaction against papal and clerical control which resulted in the secularization of marriage and of the reaction against asceticism and celibacy in the clergy. Of course formulations of this kind have to be taken as representatives of ideal types, in Max Weber's sense, since departures from the moral norms are probably more numerous than are observances. Thus it is one problem to sketch the norm and another to demonstrate its effectiveness in everyday conduct. The former is Lenski's primary task in this work.

In Schuh's book the moralizing element is stronger and the historical elements are weaker; the result is a book of much less value to sociologists, unless the book itself is to be taken as an object lesson.

Harvard University and Colgate

WENDELL H. BASH

Economic Backgrounds of the Relief Problem. By J. P. Watson. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, 1937. Pp. xiii, 144. \$2.00.

This monograph was undertaken as part of a larger social survey of Pittsburgh under the direction of Dr. Phillip Klein of the New York School of Social Work with a grant-in-aid of the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh. The author, a member of the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Pittsburgh, extended the study to its present form. Standard statistical procedures are skillfully employed throughout. The scope of the work includes conditions in the peak year 1929 and the subsequent years of depression. The author concludes that

only about four-tenths of the people are commercially employable, in terms of the ordinary economic experience reflected by the census. In fact, that proportion is reached only by the inclusion of part-time workers and children. In other words, six-tenths or more of the people, judged by the ordinary economic experience, are not commercially employable. Large numbers of these unemployable people do not have family attachments giving them access to economic goods and services through breadwinners. . . . Conse-

quently, it is always necessary that purchasing power be distributed by non-commercial methods to unemployable people without attachment to workers.

Without any substantiating evidence the author makes the generalization that the only means of accomplishing this noncommercial distribution is through some form of public relief. May it not be that other social institutions and groups may provide, at least in part, some of the necessities of life?

It is unfortunate that the author chose to employ the census definition of the family to examine its role in the provision of security. This concept of the family as those related by blood, marriage, or adoption *dwelling in the same household* falls far short of constituting an adequate analytical tool for this problem. The psychosocial kinship group offers a more realistic basis for studying the role of the family as an extra-governmental institution in the attainment of social security. Similarly, the community is more than a mechanical administrative relief unit, or political area. Hence, we are dubious in accepting the conclusion of the author that the only supplement to our commercial system is public relief.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN H. USEEM

New Mexico's Own Chronicle: Three Races in the Writings of Four Hundred Years. By Maurice Garland Fulton and Paul Horgan. Dallas, Texas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1937. Pp. 372. \$4.00.

This book, which is a collection of interesting early documents on life in New Mexico, is more history than sociology, but it contains valuable data for sociologists interested in understanding the early civilization of the southwestern frontier. The authors could have increased the value of the book for the sociologists had they included more data on the social habits, customs, and traditions of these people. They give more credit to the contribution of the Spanish-speaking people of this southwestern territory than do most authors writing the early history of this region. The Spaniards came seeking gold but always brought their priests with them so that they could conquer the new territory in the name of the church. These priests built churches that have influenced the institutional and personal life of the people of New Mexico. Many thrilling adventures are told in describing the early conquest of the Spaniards and later of the Mexicans in this area. Then came the problem of taming the Indians and the wilder desperadoes who infested this area. The development of the large estates into ranchos with their *vaqueros* gave many interesting chapters. The cattle trails and the stage coaches played their part in the development of this territory. Certain individuals gained control of the water rights of the state and thus control all the ranch lands surrounding these water holes so as to make a serious land concentration problem in New Mexico lasting even to the present day. This is discussed in an interesting manner by these authors. The Civil War period, the development of railroads, the natural resources and later of agriculture, especially in the eastern part of the state, are other important topics of discussion. The problem of New Mexico at the present time, according to the authors, is the development of the new civili-

zation alongside the old, or the Spanish, civilization which has changed very little in recent years.

Texas A. & M. College

DANIEL RUSSELL

Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. III. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: American Book Co., 1937. Pp. xvii, 539. \$6.00.

This book has been reviewed several times already, and little more can be done in the way of expounding its contents. Suffice it to say that Sorokin has made use of a kind of quantitative method in the effort to demonstrate that "external and internal disturbances," more commonly called wars and revolutions, have fluctuated markedly throughout the era of recorded history, and that all science points to an increase rather than a diminution of conflict in the near future. Whatever may be the detailed criticism of Sorokin's use of quantitative method, it is beyond question that the evidence assembled goes far to bear out the main points. The school of Progress and "Sweetness and Light" has here encountered a stumbling block that it will not easily remove from its path.

A word or two about current criticisms of the work seems apropos. Sorokin has been taken to task for his vituperative vocabulary, but the critics have been even more vituperative; for example, they have roundly damned him with that current term denoting everything iniquitous, "Fascist." No one who has read Sorokin's treatise with his blood concentrated in his head rather than his abdomen could make such an error. Sorokin is an absolute opponent of totalitarian régimes of every kind; the ideal he upholds is that of patriarchal familism. Authority under such a system is concentrated in small communal groups, akin to the village community analyzed by Sir Henry Sumner Maine. Local autonomy is a prime requisite, and the type of social control in force has little connection with the far-reaching rational domination absolutely necessary in a totalitarian order. Again, Sorokin has been accused of sadism, i.e., that he revels in the prospect of an increase in cruelty and bloodshed. This is arrant nonsense; the value-judgments that do incontestably pervade the work derive fundamentally from an essentially kind and humane attitude—which, however, has little in common with modern "humanitarianism."

The present reviewer, did space permit, would take issue with Sorokin on many points of methodology, and he does wish that a little more caution and self-control were apparent. It is not wise to be a berserker when confronted by long-range snipers. In fairness to a much-abused man, however, the writer here lays down his pen.

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD BECKER

Isolated Communities: A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village. By Oscar Walde-mar Junek. New York: American Book Company, 1937. Pp. xxiv, 132. \$2.50.

Explicitly, the purpose of this study is to determine to what extent the mode of life in a typical isolated fishing village is to be regarded as a folk system

(culture) and to what part of this same system the term "city system" (civilization) may be applied. A folk is distinguished from a nationality group in terms of (1) greater isolation (2) unsophisticated forms of oral expression, (3) comparative lack of group consciousness, and (4) common uniform attitudes toward objects and symbols. The principal conclusion is that an isolated people living in a physical milieu hostile to the necessary conditions of their existence adopt the material traits of city culture which reach them when such traits serve their purposes more adequately than tools of their own making without necessarily affecting their existing beliefs.

The study sets up occasional points of tangency between the western city culture pattern and that of the folk system studied. It does not explain adequately the origins and sources or the extent of the existing folk culture when contacts with the city system were first made. It is difficult to determine whether the fishermen are more indebted for their culture to the western city or to the Eskimo. Furthermore, the evidences of culture borrowing are so great as to cause us to wonder if the author does not overstress greatly the factor of isolation. This lack of definitiveness is aggravated by an absence of organization in the presentation which approaches carelessness and which is a source of no little confusion to a critical reader. Finally, in spite of a manifest desire of the author for objectivity, it is difficult to subdue a suspicion that if the genealogy of a culture trait can be traced to the city, it is to be given the sanctified label of civilization, while those traits which are not of urban origin are to be relegated to the abysmal realm of folklore.

Even with the above-mentioned limitations, the study is a most interesting dissection of the existing culture pattern of a rather simple neighborhood group. It is an exposition of how the basic traits of the folk culture are integrated and co-ordinated about three converging axial structures—work, place, and people. Probably, it would be difficult to find a study of a literate, at least semiliterate, group which more aptly delineates both the morphological and the functional co-ordinates of cultural unification than that encompassed in this monograph.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

County at Large. By Martha Collins Baync. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College, 1937. Pp. xi, 194. \$2.00.

The Dutchess County Farmer. By Martha Collins Baync. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College, 1936. Pp. 88. \$.25.

In 1928 the Women's City and County Club of Poughkeepsie established a fellowship for "projects in the field of social studies especially designed to further the welfare of Dutchess County through the co-operation of the Women's City and County Club and Vassar College." The fellowship, founded in memory of Margaret Lewis Norrie, a former president of the club, was planned for a six-year period, a different field of study to be undertaken every one or two years. It provided that a Vassar graduate of not more than five years' standing should study some phase of welfare work in Dutchess County.

Five publications resulted from this project of which two are of concern to our readers. The first noted above is in a sense a summary of the others well augmented by all other available sources of data, such as the various censuses, relief administration, and W.P.A. records. Both publications are artistically printed, especially *County at Large*, which also carries effective illustrations. Both are well organized and excellently written and in this respect are distinctly superior to the average survey report, especially in the intelligent use of historical factors and their interweaving with the discussions of economic life, government, agriculture, organizational relationships, welfare, public health, education, adult education, libraries, and recreation.

The second title, among other chapters has significant discussions of the social life and problems of the farmer's wife, of his children, and of the effects of summer residents and urbanization upon rural life. The sponsoring agency, it should be noted, is a city and county women's club, thus exemplifying rural-urban co-operation. Moreover, the studies have eventuated in program suggestions that are a guide to action on the part of the club. The whole enterprise is highly suggestive of ways in which women's clubs could be of real usefulness in local situations.

Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Youth in the Toils. By Leonard V. Harrison and Pryor McNeill Grant. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. vi, 167. \$1.50.

This book, based on a survey made under the direction of a Delinquency Committee of the Boys' Bureau of New York City, has to do primarily with the purposes of criminal law and its procedures as they affect minors between the ages of 16 and 21. Actual stories of many delinquent boys are given, how they became delinquent, their experiences from the time of their arrest through their detention before trial, which may last for weeks or even months whether they are innocent or guilty, and then in the reformatory. The report honestly portrays the factors which cause so many youthful first offenders to become hardened criminals when they might, under a nonquantitative punishment theory, become rehabilitated. Our penal code is rooted in the theory of awarding punishment fitting the offense rather than of curing delinquency at its beginning through rehabilitation. The system is substantially the same in every large city. The suggestions offered by these able authorities as to how the law, the courts, and the prison system may be reformed to rehabilitate young lawbreakers and turn them into useful citizens is applicable to all cities.

The authors are eminently qualified to make recommendations for "overhauling the old mills"—to go beyond fact-finding and make specific, constructive suggestions as to changes in the existing system. Harrison is a criminologist who since 1915 has made numerous outstanding researches of police systems and the administration of criminal justice, and Grant has devoted his life to work among boys. They justly advocate, among others, the enactment of a special delinquency code for minors between 16 and 21 years of age; a new court known as the

Delinquent Minor Court organized so as to provide for the exercise of two separate functions: (a) a judicial function of determining guilt or innocence of offenses charged, and (b) a dispositional function of determining the form of treatment to be imposed upon those guilty, and that the disposition of offenders be based on a diagnostic examination by experts. This book should be widely read so that public opinion would demand modification of penal laws based on the offense rather than the offender.

Michigan State College

J. F. THADEN

An Island Community—Ecological Succession in Hawaii. By Andrew W. Lind. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xxii, 337. \$3.00.

The author of this ecological study of Hawaiian racial succession focuses his attention primarily upon the role which land uses have played in bringing several racial stocks together, and the development of biological competition which has accompanied this contact. He traces the history of Hawaii from a period before contact with European culture, and describes the change (1780-1930) as a shift from an aboriginal subsistence economy to a large-scale, capitalistic plantation system commercially producing sugar and pineapples. Parallel and functionally related to this development a five-stage population cycle with many racial problems has arisen. The author observes that the last decade marks the closing of an economic "frontier" with various attendant sociological implications for occupational and other socioeconomic conditions, one of which is a close relation to the larger world community. Resulting from this, he sees the rise of a hybrid population educated largely in the traditions and values of the contemporary United States.

The material supposedly is restricted to what is important to an ecological analysis but it leaves the scope of ecology in such general terms that it is difficult to ascertain what is germane to the discussion. The viewpoint operative in this work merely touches the problems of race relations but in so doing leaves the way open for future investigation. The study merits a careful examination by all students of sociology and anthropology.

Columbia University

GORDON T. BOWDEN

The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana. By Reverend Herman Joseph Jacobi. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1937. Pp. xiii, 126. \$1.00.

This monograph, by a young urban Catholic priest, is not what the title indicates—a study of "The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana"—but rather an analysis of the religious, social, and economic conditions prevailing among a selected group of Catholics claiming French and Spanish descent, living in an isolated area of one of the most remote sections to be found in the furthestmost segments of five southern Louisiana rural parishes which form a part of the Atchafalaya Swamp Basin. Schedules were taken from the 50 largest Catholic fami-

lies within this area—principally in the Pierre Part settlement, which is the largest of the five sparsely populated water-bound settlements included and studied in this 720 square miles of swampy region—supplemented by numerous interviews with the oldest and most influential persons in this area. These people for the most part earn their living by a collecting economy—fishing, moss picking, trapping, and hunting—supplemented by some part-time farming and lumbering.

The real insights into the way of life of the inhabitants were furnished by the resident pastor of the Pierre Part Catholic Church. This modest "unsung hero" is the main force behind the so-called "social evolution" that the area is now experiencing. To one acquainted with the area studied it appears that the author, in his enthusiasm to portray the Catholic philosophy of life, painted too glowing a picture of the religious ardor of the inhabitants. Critical readers may wonder if these people are not overdependent on their *Bon Dieux* and the "Relief Agencies" at the expense of trying to help themselves. The work is well written, contains 16 tables and 20 revealing photographs that are truly typical of the area.

Louisiana State University

VENON J. PARENTON

Three Iron Mining Towns. By Paul H. Landis. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1938. Pp. 148. \$1.75.

This book reports on a study of cultural changes in three mining towns on the famous Mesabi Range in Minnesota: Eveleth, Hibbing, and Virginia. It is a digest of a doctor's dissertation on the three Iron Range towns. The book presents an analysis of the cultural changes of an iron mining settlement through its periods of discovery, early development, and maturity. A brief analysis of the culture of the early lumbering industry of the Mesabi Range is also presented. The author gives as one of the hypotheses to the study that "the most fruitful place to seek the forces determining cultural change is the social group." Particular attention is therefore devoted to the relationship of social group interaction to cultural change, although the effects of cultural history, geographical factors, and demographic factors are considered.

Early newspaper accounts assist in indicating the realistic nature of the pioneer folkways and mores which were reflected in such traits as tolerance for illegal enterprises and a low evolution of human life. The pioneer culture pattern became outmoded shortly after 1900, when life became more stable in the Range area. The development of the rather lavish culture patterns of the towns are analyzed in relation to social group interactions, such as the conflict between the public and the mining companies for possession of a greater share of the wealth of the region. An analysis of cultural change is given in the closing section of the book with a very clarifying differentiation as to social and cultural change. This book should serve as a base of reference for further research in cultural change, particularly in pioneer areas.

North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station

DONALD G. HAY

Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey. By Henry Charlton Beck. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1936. Pp. 278. \$3.75.

More Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey. By Henry Charlton Beck. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1937. Pp. 338. \$3.75.

These companion volumes are an unsystematic and disconnected collection of 81 brief sketches dealing with scattered old towns once of some importance but now deserted and almost completely forgotten. Many of these sketches had appeared previously in local newspapers. As the author himself states, they are "stories of crumbling houses, piles of ore slag, broken bits of glass, tumbledown and burnt sawmills, as revealed by a few of that diminishing group of people who know of what they are relics."

Though primarily of local interest, these books are a contribution to Americana and of value to anyone interested in American folklore and rural life around our industrial centers. They also may have some general value as a fund of illustrations exemplifying the way in which the centralization in large cities has undermined the prosperity of local industries, with resultant deterioration of the small communities dependent upon them.

Harvard University

DUDLEY KIRK

Education in a Democracy: An Introduction to the Study of Education. By Alonzo F. Myers and Clarence O. Williams. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xii, 434. \$3.00.

Education conceived as a social force, studied in relation to social sciences to improve society through the use of social, economic, and political forces at work makes a dynamic subject.

In brisk textbook form the authors develop the educational implications of these forces, posing problems and projects, and emphasizing results rather than procedure. Our school system and present tendencies and influences—historical, philosophical, and scientific—are considered, together with necessary pending and promising changes, and comparisons are made with foreign systems. The use of education to attain national objectives and the problems that now challenge education—reconstruction of the social order, providing guarantee of economic security, perpetuating ideas of democracy and developing international mindedness—have attention. There is a searching section, "Shall I become a teacher?" The touchstone: A good teacher must have a sound social philosophy which places the welfare of society above the rights of individuals.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

U. S. Department of Agriculture

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN

Sugar: A Case Study of Government Control. By John E. Dalton. New York: Macmillan, 1937. Pp. x, 311. \$3.00.

Some rural sociologists are studying groups whose economic base is sugar production; in every region there are economic problems and proposed solutions

similar to those in the sugar areas. There are additional problems suggested by Dalton's descriptions contrasting independent farm and plantation organization.

The bulk of this book traces the development of economic chaos in the sugar industry and indicates incisively the conditions which drove producers and processors to beg government aid in co-ordinating their affairs. The various plans proposed and the operation of the one adopted by the A.A.A. are evaluated for each of the principal continental and territorial areas, together with the effects upon the consumers. The comparative advantage analysis is utilized, but an adequate demonstration of its implications is lacking.

The author's conclusions will satisfy neither the advocates of government control of economic life nor the supporters of laissez-faire. He reveals the maze of political and economic sophistries implicit in our traditional tariff policies, but the peculiar properties of this particular industry do not permit him to attain many general conclusions applicable to the wider problem. The descriptive value of this study is great; its analytic value is slight.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Bibliography on Land Utilization, 1918-36. Compiled by Louise O. Bercaw and Annie M. Hannay. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Misc. Pub. No. 284, Jan., 1938. Pp. iv, 1508. \$1.50.

Write your congressman for this bibliography. It is well worth while.

Outline of Cultural Materials. By G. P. Murdock, C. S. Ford, H. E. Hudson, R. Kennedy, L. W. Simmons, and J. W. M. Whiting. New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1938. Pp. 55.

Cooperation or Coercion? By L. P. Jacks. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1938. Pp. xvii, 153. \$2.00.

This outline is a product of the cross-cultural survey conducted by the Institute and aims to present a scheme for organizing the available material dealing with known cultures. Other objectives are that of testing cross-cultural generalizations, and revealing deficiencies in the literature. The outline contains 55 categories with upwards of 600 subdivisions. It thus represents a far more elaborate culture outline than that of Wissler's universal pattern. There is a brief description of the content of each sub-category, with illustrations. Cross references are numerous.

The sociologist who peruses this outline can scarcely fail to be impressed with the endless detail that is necessary to distinguish one culture from another in its entirety, or even to understand the organization and ramifications of a single culture. The task of the sociologist is somewhat more limited than that of the cultural anthropologist since he more often operates *within* a culture rather than *among* cultures. Because of their relative uniformity, many of the important categories of the anthropologist, such as Language, Kinship, Numerology, and Death are taken for granted by the sociologist in his search for the mainsprings of social action and the devices of social control. And yet it is possible that he takes too much for granted. One of the fundamental difficulties of the sociologist is that

of obtaining objectivity in the analysis of a culture of which he himself is a part. It requires a degree of intellectual sophistication which often he is unable to attain. Perhaps it would be helpful if he contemplated further the systematic detail with which the cultural anthropologist proceeds. Perhaps, also, these remarks apply particularly to rural sociologists who for the most part are compelled to search for ways and means of overcoming social maladjustments. For example, it is possible that the rural sociologist might learn more of genuine value regarding the behavior of farmers from a thorough knowledge of their ethical ideas (as outlined in Section 35) than from any number of listings of the cultural objects possessed or consumed by them. It would require more than a schedule and a house-to-house canvass to accomplish this, however.

This book represents an attempt to outline a basis for international co-operation for the prevention of war. After reviewing critically the failure of international compacts and the ineffective efforts of the League of Nations to prevent war, the author concludes (1) that the success of the former rests upon the good faith of the contracting parties and up to now the necessary good faith has been lacking; (2) that the present covenant of the League of Nations requires each nation to subordinate its ambitions to the common good, a requirement which they cannot be expected to meet; (3) that as a coercive body the League must always fail without international resources and fighting machinery at its command. In the second part of the book, the author presents a general plan for international economic co-operation which is to develop concurrently with progressive—disarmament. Economic resources saved by limitation of armaments are to be paid to the League of Nations to create an international fund for the purpose of (1) stabilizing currencies and promoting international trade, (2) lowering tariff barriers, (3) financing the distribution of raw materials, (4) promoting international social services, and (5) assistance to nations in calamity. The argument is that emphasis upon economic co-operation would divert interest from war, that international economic co-operation is impossible without international capital, and that it cannot succeed without disarmament.

The book is lucidly written, with numerous illustrations. The author shows his familiarity with the subject, and is on solid ground when he argues that the standards by which individual conduct is judged and controlled cannot be applied directly to the behavior of sovereign states. His solution appears to be theoretically plausible. Practically, however, the difficulties of getting the plan under way may be insuperable.

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

News Notes and Announcements

Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society of America:—There has been a considerable sentiment among members of the Society for reducing the number of prepared papers at the annual meeting, and having more time for discussion. After canvassing the matter with various members and through considerable correspondence, the Executive Committee has arranged the following program for the December, 1938, meeting. All of those invited to participate have accepted. The papers of the first two sessions will be printed in the December issue of *Rural Sociology*, so that all will have an opportunity to read them. Discussion on them will be led by five members invited to do so, and there will then be ample time for free discussion from the floor. It is hoped that this arrangement may prove profitable for the consideration of the two important topics which have been selected.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM, RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA DECEMBER, 1938

First Session. J. H. Kolb, Presiding

Topic: "The Rural Community"

Presidential Address, "Criteria for Rural Communities," Dwight Sanderson,
Cornell University

"Planned Rural Communities," C. W. Loomis, Division of Farm Population
and Rural Life, B. A. E., United States Department of Agriculture.

"Diagnosing Rural Community Organization," Douglas Ensminger, Cornell
University

Discussion led by five invited members

General discussion

Second Session. Carl C. Taylor, presiding

Topic: Social Aspects of the Farm Labor Problem"

Papers by (topics to be selected by them): Paul H. Landis, Washington
State College; Harold C. Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University; Ray
E. Wakeley, Iowa State College

Discussion by five invited members

General discussion

Joint Luncheon with American Farm Economic Association

"Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture," C.
Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M. College

Third Session. Dwight Sanderson, presiding

Topic: Committee Reports and Business (20 to 30 minutes for discussion of
report of each committee)

Report of Committee on Teaching, Wilson Gee, University of Virginia,
Chairman

Report of Committee on Extension Work, J. B. Schmidt, Ohio State University, Chairman

Report of Committee on Research, C. Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M. College, Chairman

Work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Carl C. Taylor, in charge

Business Meeting

Round Tables

Several Round Tables will be arranged for those interested in special topics, to the extent that time and space are available and provided that a sufficient number of members indicate their interest in specific topics to warrant holding Round Tables on them. These Round Tables will be held simultaneously and probably not for more than two sessions at such times as they can be interpolated in the general program.

The following topics have been suggested. Will members be good enough to indicate their choice in order of preference on a postcard, and mail at once to me?

Cultural Areas, led by C. E. Lively

Student Round Table, led by a student

Extension Workers, led by B. L. Hummel

Population Research

Special Interest Groups

Research Relations with Federal Agencies

Attitudes

Rural Sociology Textbooks and Courses

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *President*

Subcommittee on Lower-Income Rural Classes of the Advisory Committee on Economic and Social Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council (Extract from Minutes of Meeting, Brookings Institution, May 12-14, 1938):—This Committee consists of L. C. Gray, Lowry Nelson, T. W. Schultz, Carl C. Taylor, T. J. Woofor, Jr., and Carl C. Zimmerman, Chairman.

The Subcommittee decided that it is interested in "rural" classes which is a more inclusive term than "agricultural" classes. Furthermore, the former use of the word "disadvantaged" in the Subcommittee name was held to be evaluative and not descriptive of the views of the members as to the purpose of the Subcommittee. It was held that the purpose of the Subcommittee is to outline the problems of, and to stimulate research concerning the low-income rural classes in the country.

It then drew up a preliminary report on the classes of rural families coming under the purview of the Subcommittee. This was defined as follows: "Rural (farm or village) families with 'real' family incomes from all sources of approximately not more than \$500 per annum."

Available statistics make it very difficult to isolate these families by any all-inclusive single criterion. This is due to the following facts: The census enumeration is of gross farm income; the Census does not take into account division of

income between landlord and tenant; the Census does not secure family earnings off the farm; the Census does not take into account operations of less than three acres, unless these acres produce at least \$250 gross sales, thus many rural as well as actual farm families are omitted; the agricultural Census does not include farm laborers.

However, certain approximations can be made from available statistics which will help to locate and describe some of these families. For instance:

Gross farm incomes as obtainable from the Census for the low-income groups can be reduced by approximation to net farm incomes of less than \$600 per year, as representative in part of this group studied by the Subcommittee.

It is recognized that the latest nation-wide farm income figures are for 1929 and hence do not apply very well to present conditions. Since farm incomes are given by type of farm and by country, but not for both together, both indices can be used to locate the disadvantaged rural classes.

Some of the types of farming categories of families, the majority of which have low incomes are: Share tenants, self-sufficing farmers, and part-time farmers. Some of the areas which can be said to include many of these disadvantaged rural people are as follows: Cotton South; Appalachian Ozarks, both north and south; cut-over lands; the southwestern Spanish American and Indian areas; stranded areas around industrial communities; California farm labor regions; Mormon mountain regions; many tide-water sections; and small holdings in poor-land areas. It is recognized that all these categories overlap. Certain categories are not included, such as scattered disadvantaged families and also temporary problem areas, such as those troubled by floods and droughts.

No comprehensive study has been made of any class of these families nor of all together except on the basis of certain very rough census data which is subject to the limitations pointed out above. It has been estimated that something like 50 per cent of the rural families in America fall within these groups. Many action programs are in urgent need of trustworthy information about these families. Some such are: the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Works Progress Administration, Farm Security Administration, Social Security Administration, Extension Service, Agricultural Vocational Service.

The Advisory Committee heard the above opinions concerning the aims of the Subcommittee and agreed that its work should be continued. It was felt that the first purpose of the Subcommittee is to attempt to prepare a report summarizing available data and a bibliography of studies concerning the low-income rural classes. Fortunately, since this Committee started functioning, three such summaries have been started by various governmental agencies. These are: a report by Carl C. Taylor in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; a report by Conrad Taeuber now being prepared for a committee appointed by the Secretary within the Department of Agriculture, (W. W. Alexander, Chairman); and a report being prepared in the Works Progress Administration by T. J. Woofter, Jr. It was felt that the Subcommittee might try to supplement and draw from these three reports rather than duplicate any of the physical labor involved. It would

then try to advise with Taeuber, Taylor, and Woofter and borrow from them summaries of their reports rearranged and edited to fit the Committee's purposes. In order to do this it is advisable that the Subcommittee have funds to keep in contact with these workers in the government.

After such a survey report becomes available, it should be typed and circulated among the members of the Subcommittee who would study the information, consult with outsiders and each draft a report concerning research problems of these disadvantaged rural classes. On the basis of these separate reports the Subcommittee should meet and draft a preliminary report for the Advisory Committee to contain (1) a copy of the descriptive summary and available information on the disadvantaged rural classes and (2) an analysis of research problems involved.

It was hoped that such a document if prepared and published would give impetus and guidance to research in a much neglected field.

It was agreed further that the members of the Subcommittee might send to the Chairman a letter giving a few preliminary problems which should in their opinion be the object of current investigation. These are to be arranged by the Chairman into a note for *Rural Sociology*.

Statement by Carl C. Taylor — Two major types of analyses are essential if we are to know more about the disadvantaged classes in American agriculture. The first is an analysis of who these people are and where they live by a method which will eliminate duplication of classes. It is quite possible that we will be driven to one criterion such as gross family income in order to establish a benchmark. This should however, be gross *family* income and not gross *farm* income in order to give consideration to income earned off the farm and to the division of the total farm income between landlord and tenant, and owner and hired laborer. It is apparent that this analysis cannot be made from census data unless more adequate and differentiated data are gathered and tabulated in the census report.

The second analysis needs to be of the causes which lead to disadvantaged status. Studies thus far made have, by and large been able to depict only results and conditions. When causes are analyzed considerable contribution will be made toward the elimination of duplication in classes and the transfer will be made from classes to causes, conditions, and trends.

In addition to these two basic analyses, an attempt should be made to obtain answers to the following specific questions:

- 1 To what extent are disadvantaged farm families examples of inherited low status—that is, the status having run within the family over a number of generations—and to what extent are they products of the agricultural ladder working in reverse—that is, members of families who in previous generations had higher status but who now have lost that status?
- 2 To what extent are families displaced in agriculture becoming (a) transient labor still living in their old communities, (b) transient part time or full time laborers living in villages and towns, (c) transient laborers who are migrating into other areas and communities, (d) others?

3. To what extent in various regions of the Nation have long-time operators—laborers, sharecroppers, or tenants—been displaced by (a) mechanization, (b) crop production control and restriction, (c) other causes?
4. To what extent in the various regions of the Nation can disadvantaged farm families alleviate their conditions by practicing more adequate and efficient "live-at-home," "subsistence," or "self-sufficient" farm and home economy?

I think it is highly desirable that research in this field not be solely a description of the distressing or depressed conditions of farm families, but rather a clear-headed analysis of the fundamental trends in operation together with the causes as well as the human effects or results of these trends. It is my belief that such analyses will reveal not only many facts of which we are not aware, but some facts which, unless definitely established, we will be inclined to repudiate. It might develop information which would suggest that we sharply modify our whole gamut of agricultural programs.

CARL C. TAYLOR, in charge
Division of Farm Population and Rural Life

Statement by Lowery Nelson:—Suggested fields in which need for research is now apparent:

- I. Agricultural labor:
 1. More adequate classification and description of types of wage-workers.
 2. Studies in employer-employee relations with reference to types of workers.
 3. Effects of mechanization and rationalization of agriculture on demand for human labor.
 - (a) Extent of labor displacement caused by recent machine introduction in cotton, corn, and sugar beet production.
 - (b) Results of displaced labor.
 4. Effectiveness of farm labor placement agencies—public and private.
 5. Relation of Emergency programs (especially W.P.A., A.A.A.) to the demand for and supply of agricultural labor.
 6. Reaction of farmers to the labor features of the Sugar Act of 1937, specifically the wage-fixing and child labor features.
 7. The community relations of wage laborers in agriculture.
 8. Appraisal of the experience of F.S.A. with operations of farm labor camps in California.
- II. Analysis and appraisal of programs designed to aid the disadvantaged:
 1. Analysis of rural rehabilitation case records to show:
 - (a) Characteristics and background of families on rehabilitation.
 - (b) Appraisal of effectiveness of procedures used in rehabilitating families.
 - (c) Community relation of rural rehabilitation families.
 2. Analysis of resettlement project to determining:
 - (a) Economic and social effects upon resettled families.
 3. Analysis of Farm Tenancy Program (F.S.A.).
 - (a) Procedures.
 - (b) Type of family involved.
 - (c) Social implications of program.

(Essential thing needed immediately is information basic to establishing "bench-marks" against which changes can be charted.)

Michigan State College.—The Tenth Annual Institute of Social Welfare sponsored by the Michigan State Conference of Social Work, the State Emergency Relief Commission, the State Welfare Department, and the State Corrections Commission, was held at Michigan State College July 18-22. This was attended by approximately four hundred and fifty persons, mainly from the smaller towns and rural areas of the state.

On April 30, 1938, the Michigan Country Life Association met on the campus of the State College in connection with the annual meeting of the youth section of the Michigan Country Life Association. The Association adopted a resolution to the effect that the Association call a conference to develop policies and programs on which all affiliated organizations can unite.

The retirement of Dr. Eben Mumford, who founded the Department of Sociology in 1924, became effective September 1, 1938. He is succeeded by Dr. Paul Honigsheim of the National University of Panama. Dr. Honigsheim was formerly Extraordinary Professor of Sociology at Cologne University, but left Germany in 1936 after the rise of the Hitler government. Dr. Honigsheim will be Associate Professor of Sociology and will devote half of his time to research.

Oklahoma A. & M. College.—Mr. Robert T. McMillan, Research Assistant in Rural Sociology, has been awarded a General Education Board Fellowship for 1938-39 and will do graduate study at Louisiana State University.

Mr. John H. McClure, formerly Assistant State Supervisor of Rural Research for the F.E.R.A. in Alabama, has been named as Research Assistant in Rural Sociology for the coming year.

Social Science Research Council.—The following are the Southern Grant-in-Aid appointees for 1938-39:

Howard K. Beale, Professor of History, University of North Carolina, for a study of the life of Theodore Roosevelt

Richmond Croom Beatty, Assistant Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, for a biography of T. B. Macauley

William Patterson Cumming, Professor of English, Davidson College, for a historic-cartographical study of the southeastern region of the United States

Luther Porter Jackson, Professor of History, Virginia State College, for a study of slavery in urban Virginia

William Sumner Jenkins, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, for a study of the amending processes of the Constitution of the United States

James Cecil Nelson, Associate Professor of Marketing, University of Tennessee, for a study of motor carrier regulation in the state of Tennessee

Benjamin U. Ratchford, Professor of Economics, Duke University, for a study of the debts of the American states

Fritz L. Redlich, Professor of Economics, Mercer University, for a study of American business leaders

Maurice O. Ross, Associate Professor of Finance, University of Tennessee, for a study of state regulation and control of commercial banking in Tennessee

South Dakota State College:—The Department of Rural Sociology has recently released for distribution a bulletin entitled "The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935." Copies of this may be had upon request to Professor W. F. Kumlien, Department of Sociology, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota.

The Agricultural Experiment Station has recently published its *Bulletin No. 318*: "The Extent of Dependency upon Old Age Assistance in South Dakota." This also may be had on request, to the Experiment Station.

Syracuse University:—Dr. William C. Lehmann, associate professor of sociology, has been granted a year's leave of absence to accept a visiting professorship in sociology at Tulane University for the year 1938-39.

University of Tennessee:—Mr. Frank M. Fitzgerald has been appointed State Supervisor of Rural Research in Tennessee, succeeding Mr. E. E. Briner, who has resigned.

A new course on the economic and social history of agriculture will be given next year at the Tennessee College of Agriculture. It will be required of all students in the college.

Texas University:—Mr. Logan Wilson of Texas University, more recently instructor in sociology at Harvard, will be assistant Book Review Editor of *Rural Sociology* for the coming year.

The State College of Washington:—The second Summer Institute for Rural Religious Leaders, sponsored by the Rural Sociology Department at the State College of Washington in co-operation with the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was held from July 25 to August 5, 1938. Forty-two ministers, representing the three states of the Inland Empire, were in attendance.

University of Wisconsin:—Dr. J. H. Kolb will be back at the University of Wisconsin for the fall semester, to carry on his regular administrative, teaching, and research program. He has been on leave the past semester and the summer acting as adviser to a recently created Social Science Research Bureau, for the New Zealand Government. This in turn is a part of a Department of Scientific and Industrial Research which has other units.

Rural Sociology



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Rural Sociology

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Criteria of Rural Community Formation

*Dwight Sanderson**

ABSTRACT

The rural community is an emergent sociological concept. The use of the rural community as the school attendance unit will tend to institutionalize it. Rural school consolidation may seriously impair rural community life if based solely on so-called efficiency. The importance of the rural community as a cultural unit in modern society is stressed. Rural sociologists have a responsibility to see that rural communities be established on sound sociological principles. Four criteria for the areas of rural communities are advanced as a means for obtaining constructive discussion. These are based on the ideas of relative self-sufficiency, opportunity for personal association, and pooling of resources for desired institutions. The development of such standards and the mapping of rural communities is an important function of state and county planning boards and should be made a feature of the county land use planning committees being established by the agricultural extension services.

During the past twenty-five years the rural community has become a major concept in rural social organization. Prior to that time it was the unusual locality where people felt any community ties. There were farms, open-country neighborhoods, hamlets, and villages, but there was, with few exceptions, little sense of interdependence between them. Particularly since the World War and the advent of hard roads and automobiles there has been a growing centralization of social and economic life of the countryside in the villages. Better social services and facilities have been developed on a community basis to satisfy the growing number of interests which villagers and farmers have in common, but which they cannot support separately. This has been largely influenced by rising standards with regard to rural institutions, the school, the church, and the store.

It must be frankly recognized, however, that the rural community is an emergent group; it is in the process of becoming. Although in many sections there is a geographical basis for the development of the rural community as a unit of association, there are other sections where this is not evident. The rural community is not a legal unit, as is the village community in Europe, or the incorporated village or city municipality in this country. In the early New England colonies rural society was

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composed of village communities, of which the church was the center; when a new church was located, the community was divided accordingly. In those days the church was *the* community institution. But this was not the case in the settlement of the Middle West, where both churches and schools were scattered over the open country. The store was the peculiar institution of the village, and the village was chiefly a trading center. With the growth of consolidated schools and high schools, the school is now becoming the central institution of the rural community, and is the most influential factor in determining community boundaries.

This tendency is not peculiar to the rural community, for Lewis Mumford holds that whereas the church and the factory were the central institutions of the city in the past, in the city of the future the school should be the "essential nucleus of the new community."¹

Up to this time the movement for school consolidation has in most states been permissive and has gone on according to the desires of the local constituency. At present, however, there is beginning to be a definite movement for the general adoption of consolidated schools or at least centralized administrative districts. Evidence of this is to be found in the recent movement in West Virginia, and in the reports of the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, and of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. Both of these reports definitely recommend the reorganization of the rural school district, abandoning the one-room school district for a larger administrative unit. They also favor a larger attendance unit in most circumstances, although they are careful to advocate no uniform or specific plan of school consolidation, which should be determined by regional conditions.

The report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education says: "In rural areas, the school system should be as efficiently organized and as well supported as in urban areas; so far as feasible, school attendance areas should follow community lines."² And again, "Careful community planning is the necessary basis for a successful program of district reorganization, but in general, every State that has not done so should give attention to the enlargement of the local school administrative units."³

¹ Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938), p. 472.

² Advisory Committee on Education, *Report 75th Congress*, 3rd Session, House Document 529, p. 12, 1938, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

From the standpoint of the rural community the chief importance of this movement lies in the fact that the educational leaders of the country are definitely agreed that the one room school district cannot afford the necessary educational facilities and that school administration should be organized on community lines insofar as possible. Heretofore the basic institutional pattern of rural life has been that of the one-room school district and the country church, both neighborhood institutions. The new plan to which educational leaders are now committed, and to implement which they are now seeking legislation, will definitely establish the rural community as the unit of school administration. To the extent that this occurs, it will institutionalize the rural community, whether it be recognized for other governmental purposes or not, for the school is the outstanding public institution of rural life, and in it the common interests of the people center more than in any other. As this process goes on, with investments being made in new buildings and local loyalties becoming rearranged, the whole pattern of rural life will become more or less fixed for generations, just as the one-room neighborhood school district has largely determined the pattern of rural life during the past century.⁴ It is of the utmost importance therefore that in this period of transition rural sociologists give serious consideration to the implications of this movement and that they make whatever contribution they can to ensure that the new patterns are based on the best sociological knowledge available.

The opportunity and obligation of rural sociologists to assist in planning this program has been specifically recognized by the President's Advisory Committee and is a definite challenge to them. Says the Committee: "These plans should be prepared by the State departments of education in co-operation with other appropriate agencies of each State, such as the local school authorities, the colleges of education, the

⁴ Upon this point of the difficulty of changing institutions in which a large investment has been made in the physical plant, Lewis Mumford (*op cit*, pp 440, 441) has made the following keen observations:

The more the energies of a community become immobilized in ponderous material structures, the less ready is it to adjust itself to new emergencies and to take advantage of new possibilities.

It follows that every proposal to elaborate the physical shell of the community should be critically examined, the social alternatives to the mechanical means proposed should be canvassed, or the possibility of simpler and lighter mechanical equipment—decentralized rather than centralized, small rather than big—should be examined. One of the most impressive advantages the small city has over the overgrown metropolis consists in the fact that it does not stagger under such a burden of capital outlays in non-productive utilities.

departments of rural sociology and agricultural economics in colleges and universities, State and local planning boards, and organizations of parents, farmers, and other citizen groups."⁵ And again: "The basic research needed for educational planning should to a large extent be carried on by educational agencies, Federal, State, local, and private. Among these agencies, the departments of rural sociology and of agricultural and home economics in the land-grant colleges should be included."⁶

When the educational leaders agree that the rural community should be the unit of school administration,⁷ they have stated a principle for the organization of rural education which will have a major influence on all phases of rural social organization, but one which is an objective rather than a specific rule. For there is no one type of rural community which may be used as the basis of redistricting the schools. To determine the type of rural community which is best adapted to meet the needs of each situation, will require a new statement of the aims and values of rural education and a new appraisal of what the specific values of different types of rural communities are. We face, then, the problem of our topic—the Criteria of Rural Community Formation.

We are well aware that within the arbitrary census definition of the term *rural*, including all aggregations of under 2,500 persons, there is a wide variation in the size of rural communities. According to a recent unpublished study of the rural centers in the United States by Dr. Paul H. Landis, about two-thirds (65.7 per cent) of all rural centers are places of under 250 inhabitants; a little over one-fourth (26.4 per cent) are villages of from 250 to 1,000; and about one-twelfth (7.9 per cent) are larger villages of from 1,000 to 2,500 persons. If we disregard the so-called hamlets of under 250 inhabitants, 77 per cent of the remaining villages are places of from 250 to 1,000 inhabitants, and less than a fourth (23 per cent) are larger villages of over 1,000. Probably there are as many more persons in the open-country areas which the villages serve. Large numbers of these smaller villages now contain grade schools or small high schools. The question is, to what extent can the rural communities of which these smaller villages are the centers support a satisfactory type of school? It is well known that at present

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁷ See *American Association of School Administrators, Yearbook for 1939*, Washington, D. C., National Education Association, February, 1939.

there are thousands of small rural high schools with 50 to 100 pupils, which are too small for efficient secondary education. There are, in addition, more small graded schools whose pupils might have better advantages if transported to larger centralized schools. Indeed, the most recent (1936) estimate shows that nearly one-half (46.4 per cent) of the rural high schools have less than 100 pupils. Obviously many of these small schools should be consolidated wherever transportation is feasible, insofar as efficiency of school work is concerned. Such a proposal, however, immediately meets the determined opposition of the communities affected. They say, with reason, that if the school is moved to another community center it will remove the cornerstone of their community life. Many of the smaller villages are declining as economic centers. Is it desirable frankly to adopt a policy that the smaller centers cannot compete with the larger villages and hasten the process of social reorganization? If so, just where is the line to be drawn, and what criteria are to be used in making a decision in the very many cases in which it is difficult to predict just what the future development may be?

In general, school administrators have been inclined to approach this problem too largely from the standpoint of so-called *efficiency*. Efficiency, from their standpoint, may be considered either in terms of cost per pupil or the school tax rate, or in terms of the curriculum which is thought to be essential for the minimum of a desirable education in primary or secondary schools. It is a question however when this problem is approached from the standpoint of the best interests of rural society, from what may be called the sociological viewpoint, whether so narrow a view of efficiency can be maintained. Upon this point the New York Regents' Inquiry has made an excellent statement with regard to "The Proper Size School District for New York State:"

"Every school district should," it says,

1. Contain enough children so that a well-balanced, elementary and high school program can be maintained economically;
2. Be so arranged geographically that schools may be conveniently located and transportation, where necessary, easily arranged without requiring long routes;
3. Contain sufficient assessed valuation and taxpaying capacity to carry the bulk of the school program;
4. Coincide as far as possible with the natural community boundaries and where possible, with local government units so that co-operative services may be arranged, particularly in connection with health, traffic control, planning,

- recreation, the joint use of plant, and proper management of public debt;
5. Keep the schools and the government of the schools close to the people so that the citizens generally, including the parents and taxpayers, may know what their schools are doing, may have an effective voice in the school program, and may participate in the community use of the school building.

These last two factors, relation of the school to the natural community and closeness of the school to the people, are of first-rate educational significance and are not to be sacrificed in the interest of "efficiency." If such a sacrifice is made to establish economical districts, we will find in a generation that something of deep significance which money cannot buy has been destroyed.⁸

The last paragraph of the Committee's comment is particularly important for the analysis of our problem, and raises the question as to what constitutes the educational significance of the rural community. In recent years our concept of the role of the school in the educational process in contrast to the influence of other institutions and agencies, has been undergoing a radical change. We first thought of the school as being a means for intellectual training, for learning the three R's. Then we added the idea of training for citizenship; but we found that citizenship cannot be inculcated merely through knowledge, that it must involve the formation of desirable habits and attitudes; in short, that it involves the whole matter of personality or character. We have therefore been led to a broader statement of the aims of public education. When this broader aim is adopted the school at once becomes aware that the family, the play group, the church, and the local community are all important agencies in the educational process. Both the school and the family function within the local community. It is in the composite life of the local community that the standards of social control are developed. The attitudes, ideals, and mores of the local community are of fundamental importance in conditioning the personality and socializing the individual. The importance of the community in the educational process is, therefore, being made a central idea in the educational philosophy of many of our more progressive school administrators.⁹

⁸ "A Home Rule Method of Improving School District Organization," Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, mimeographed (New York, 1938) pp. 15, 18.

⁹ See Joseph K. Hart, *A Social Interpretation of Education* (New York, 1929), pp. 427-28; R. E. Langfitt, F. W. Cyr, and N. W. Newsom, *The Small High School at Work* (New York, 1936), pp. 11, 374, Chapters I and XVIII; Charles D. Lewis, *The Rural Community and Its Schools* (New York, 1937); and 1939 Yearbook of the Am. Assn. of School Administrators.

If this philosophy of school-community interdependence is correct, it would seem improbable that the school can successfully educate its pupils if it is outside the natural community. If school consolidation is effected upon the sole basis of so-called efficiency, either as to cost or curriculum, the importance of the community relation tends to be ignored. It is possible to give a certain type of education to pupils outside their home communities as is done at a boarding school, but placing the school outside the community alienates community interest and control and the pupil is in much the same relation to it as the rural patron is to a city department store—he goes to a school, which is outside his area of experience and his natural ties, to buy a certain type of schooling.

If this be true, and granting that it is impossible to have a satisfactory school in every small village, it may be still better to have smaller schools within limits of minimum efficiency and practicable cost, even though the cost is higher and they are not as efficient as the larger schools, in order to keep them closely related to community life.¹⁰ Many small communities will have to be assimilated into larger communities, but the size of the latter should be limited by the area within which people can associate naturally in the everyday social and economic life of the community. This area may, in time, change, but its coalescence should not be unduly forced or the community values for the educational process will be disassociated or lost. Obviously, no hard and fast rule or principle for the solution of this difficulty can be prescribed, but it would seem that the consolidation of institutions of the small community should be effected only when the consolidated institutions of the larger community will serve the social and economic needs of the people better and more satisfactorily and will enable them to have a primary community of interests in the larger community because they feel that it does give them better social facilities and a larger association. The true community must have common interests. If there

¹⁰ The inability of the over-large school to articulate with community life is equally true in the city according to Lewis Mumford, who says "the notion of making education economical or comprehensive by creating megalopolitan buildings holding from 1500 to 3000 pupils, and then expanding the scale of the neighborhood so that it can bestow a sufficient number of children on these buildings may be dismissed as a typical megalopolitan perversion. A neighborhood should be an area within the scope and interest of a preadolescent child, such that daily life can have unity and significance for him, as representation of the larger social whole, and accordingly a special effort should be made in the design of neighborhoods to incorporate in them those light industries which directly subserve neighborhood life" (*Op cit*, pp 472-3)

is a considerable area or group which does not participate in the responsibilities of the common welfare, it is outside the true community, whatever its geographical location may be with regard to established legal boundaries.

The importance of the community as a cultural unit for social control is being increasingly recognized by critics of our modern urban-dominated society and is one of the chief values of rural over urban society. That the situation in the rural community gives a more definite social control is too well known to need argument. The lack of any pervading loyalty to established usages, and the free individualism of the metropolitan city, is one of the weaknesses of modern city life which is constantly emphasized. This theme pervades the analysis of Lewis Mumford in his recent book, *The Culture of Cities*.¹¹ He believes that smaller cities make possible a better community life. This has also been explicitly stated by J. K. Hart:

Most of our cities are now "states of confusion," without bounds or patterns of serious care for the moral and spiritual wastelands they encompass. The *group* has a pattern. The *community* has a pattern. In each of these the individual member could find meanings for his own guidance. The *city* has no pattern; it is a conglomeration. In it the individual can find no pattern—or rather he could find many, many patterns, bits of old group and community patterns, but no *city pattern*. He has, therefore, no *city morality*, no *city mind*. He still has the morality of his group, predatory or otherwise; he still has the mind of his nurture, provincial or primitive.¹²

In contrast, in discussing the Greek community, Hart lays down two criteria of a community: "A community must have, first, a terrain large enough to permit diversity and variety, both in its natural resources and in its provision for diverse forms of social living; yet, at the same time, it must be small enough to permit all who live in it to know one another *at first hand*. . . . a community will combine in itself those two fundamental human values; the unity of the primitive group with the complexity of diverse populations."¹³

I have elsewhere¹⁴ summarized the argument of Josiah Royce concerning the origin of the ethical standards of the individual in the social standards of the community, which is particularly apparent in the closely

¹¹ See my review of this in *Rural Sociology*, III (September, 1938), p. 340.

¹² Joseph K. Hart, *Mind in Transition* (New York, 1938), p. 107.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁴ Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston, 1932) pp. 621-24.

knit rural community, where people are known to each other, and where social control is sometimes so irksome to the more rebellious individuals that they migrate to cities to be freed from it. It is this ability of the rural community to exercise a definite social control through its own community pattern of behavior and to form a public opinion through interchange of views of its different elements, which makes the development of the rural community of peculiar value for the preservation of true democracy in modern society. The city is too easily dominated by mass psychology. Its people are swayed by the clever appeals and suggestions of the demagogue. The masses who have lost their old ties of social control, and who are unable to grasp the complexities of urban life and to function successfully, are willing to accept the authority of the self-appointed Nazi or Fascist leader, who promises them deliverance from their frustration. But in the rural community it is possible for the citizen to grasp the local situation, to do his own thinking and be less swayed by public opinion, and to have a definite, even if humble, part in the community life and activities. The ordinary individual may have a satisfying status in a rural community. To achieve this is much more difficult in the large city. This is not saying that these possibilities are by any means always or even generally realized in rural communities; however, they are realized to a very considerable extent, and there is the possibility of developing a fine type of social organization, which is much more difficult in the large city. Modern civilization, particularly in cities, suffers from an uncontrolled individualism, and we see the necessity for recreating loyalty and devotion to the common welfare, if we are to maintain the basic values of a satisfying culture. The rural community which has sufficient size to maintain the necessary institutions and to adapt them to modern needs, but which is not too large to prevent personal acquaintance and participation in the common life, has the best conditions for inspiring devotion to community welfare, for developing a fine type of culture and thus becoming a stabilizing influence in modern society. Because of the predominant influence of the city in contemporary Western civilization, it is of the utmost importance that a virile community life be built up in the rural areas. Nor should this development of rural communities be regarded or motivated as a mere nostalgia for the supposedly "good old days" of the past. Rather it should be developed as the best means whereby the people on the land may build up a new social organization which will give them a

distinctive culture, making use of the utilities of modern civilization,¹⁵ but not being dominated by them.

Because the concept of the rural community, now being adopted by educational leaders and being accepted by the rural public, has been largely created by the work of rural sociologists, they have a peculiar responsibility for aiding in the realization of its potentialities, and of seeing that it be fairly tested as a means for better rural social organization.

The preceding discussion has emphasized the place of the school as a central factor in rural community formation because the issues involved in the redistricting of schools most clearly focus the problems involved and are pressing immediately for solution. The same general principles may be applied, however, to the consideration of the centralization of other rural institutions and organizations. Thus in the field of the church, the larger parish which provides for the teamwork of the individual parishes in a larger community area, furnishes a means of joint, centralized administration to accomplish certain purposes, such as the employment of a director of week-day religious education, which the individual rural church cannot support. Like the larger school district, it makes possible the equalization of costs so that better religious facilities may be given the poorer districts of the larger community through the larger area of support and through the possibility of an interchange of specialized services of resident pastors and their assistants. Likewise the larger rural community can support an efficient motorized fire service, an asset which is forming an important factor in promoting community organization in many places. The possibilities of the rural community as a unit for organizing better medical and nursing services are still in the exploratory stage, but have distinct promise when a better method of equalizing the cost of medical attendance to those farthest from the village centers can be invented. Rural library service has already been vastly improved where it has been organized with the county as a unit, but this centralization by no means implies the closing of the community library. Indeed, it may be strengthened, particularly when it can be associated with a consolidated school.

It is not our province to analyze the problems involved in the adaptation of these and other institutions and organizations to the larger rural community which will result from the general centralization of school

¹⁵ Cf. R. M. MacIver, *Society, a Textbook of Sociology* (New York, 1937), pp. 272 ff., for a distinction between culture and civilization.

districts. It is rather to indicate that principles and criteria must be established which will give due consideration to making it possible for institutions to function more adequately in the larger community

The statement, made above, of a principle to govern the consolidation of community institutions, was phrased in very broad terms, positive in their implications, but giving negative rather than specific criteria for the formation of larger communities. As a result of our discussion, is it possible to make a more positive statement of criteria which seem to warrant the mergence of smaller communities into larger units? This cannot be done with any degree of assurance. My objective will have been accomplished if the following statement of criteria may incite others to make similar attempts, and to undertake systematic research which will enable us to throw the light of well established facts upon the problems involved, so that out of it all there may evolve some agreement as to what principles are valid and useful for guiding public policy in this most important field

Assuming that the rural community will usually, but not necessarily, consist of a village and the tributary open country, it should have

- 1 A geographic area in which there may be habitual association of its people in the chief interests of everyday life, and in participation in its institutions and organizations

- 2 An area with a sufficient constituency, or volume of business, to permit a specialization of functions which small communities cannot support

- 3 An area with sufficient wealth to support its institutions, or, lacking this, an area which is a natural unit for commanding the best investment of outside aid, governmental or private

- 4 An area in which the common interests and resources warrant an equalization of costs so as to afford adequate institutional services to all parts of the area

These criteria may be summed up in terms of relative self sufficiency, opportunity for personal association, and pooling of resources for desired institutions

Finally, the discovery of such areas as will meet these and other criteria of the rural community, should become a major objective of state planning boards, and has already been undertaken by some of them. Without local communities which can evaluate and utilize their plans, their studies will have been in vain. This relation has been so well envisaged by Lewis Mumford that I cannot do better than quote him. He

holds that planning involves four stages, the first three of which are surveying the situation, the evaluation of needs and purposes, and reconstruction and projection, but which he holds are only preliminary.

A final stage must follow, which involves the intelligent absorption of the plan by the community and its translation into action through the appropriate political and economic agencies. . . . Nor can a plan, as such, provide for its own fulfillment; to emerge as a reorganizing agent, it must help conjure up and re-educate the very groups and personalities that will bring it to fruition. . . . Regional plans are instruments of communal education; and without that education, they can look forward only to partial achievement. Failing intelligent participation and understanding, at every stage in the process, from the smallest unit up, regional plans must remain inert.¹⁶

Once the human scale is overpassed, once the concrete fact disappears from view, knowledge becomes remote, abstract and overwhelming; a lifetime's effort will not provide sufficient grasp of the environment. The more people who are thrust together in a limited area, without organic relationships, without a means of achieving an autonomous education or preserving autonomous political activities in their working and living relations, the more must they become subject to external routine and manipulation. The resorption of scientific knowledge and the resorption of government must go hand in hand. We must create in every region people who will be accustomed, from school onward, to humanist attitudes, cooperative methods, rational controls. These people will know in detail where they live and how they live; they will be united by a common feeling for their landscape, their literature and language, their local ways, and out of their own self-respect they will have a sympathetic understanding with other regions and different local peculiarities. They will be actively interested in the form and culture of their locality, which means their community and their own personalities. Such people will contribute to our land-planning, our industry planning, and our community planning the authority of their own understanding, and the pressure of their own desires. Without them, planning is a barren externalism.¹⁷

The current movement of the federal department of agriculture and the state extension services to promote county agricultural planning boards is based on this general philosophy of planning. If the movement can be enlarged to include the planning of better rural life as well as the agricultural industry, it will inevitably face the need of rural community planning, and in such a program rural sociologists have a unique opportunity for aiding in the reshaping of rural communities and in the building of a finer rural culture.

¹⁶ Lewis Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

The Development of Planned Rural Communities

*Charles P. Loomis**

ABSTRACT

Families on seven recently established rural resettlement projects were interviewed to determine trends in community development. The social activities of settlers in their new surroundings were compared with those in the communities of residence previous to resettlement. Also the activities of families in an Indian-Mexican village, a Dutch truck farming community, and an area on an irrigation project were studied for comparative purposes.

Preliminary analysis indicates that the families on the resettlement projects are developing a community life which is in many respects unique. Blood relationship ties among associating families were not so common, but associating families lived closer together geographically, were more dependent upon one another for various types of assistance and in more instances had children which played together than was the case in the other communities. The sociologist has much to contribute both in the selection of settlers for resettlement projects and forestalling community disintegration on them.

POSSIBLE TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT

When families, most of which are unacquainted, take up their residences in an uninhabited rural area in the United States, what type of local society and culture will evolve? What will be the significant trends in the development of institutions and informal associations and the level of living of the settlers?¹ What will be the fundamental changes in attitudes? The present study when completed should throw some light upon these problems.² The aspects of the problems which will receive major emphasis are related to possible trends of development toward one of two extreme types. Since this study was set up with these pos-

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¹ The level of living on the resettlement projects has been treated in "Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities," by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. XI*. See also, C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard, "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. XIV*, September, 1938.

² Dr. Carl C. Taylor is responsible for initiating these studies of resettlement communities. Upon his suggestion the study of German resettlement, begun in 1934, resulted in the U. S. D. A. publication, "The Modern Resettlement Movement in Germany." The present

sible extremes in mind, they are briefly sketched here and occasional reference is made to them in the course of the following pages.³

Type A. It is conceivable, though improbable, that the settlers might in their activities on the projects all follow chiefly the "rational pursuit of individual self interest." All persons in all of their actions might be motivated as are buyers and sellers at the market place. Theoretically, most of the settlers moved to the projects because they were thus motivated. They believed that they were bettering their own lot. If all settlers were to continue to be thus motivated, it is probable that all formal and informal types of relationship would, in large measure, take the form of contracts enforced only in order that individuals might pursue such rational ends. The role of ritual, institutional religion, custom, tradition, and attitudes requiring individual self-sacrifice for the good of the group, would be small. The only ultimate value of importance would be that of rational efficiency in satisfying individual wants. All organizations would be of a strictly utility nature and in most cases based upon special interests. Individuals would be bound to groups other than the immediate families only insofar as such relationships profited the individuals. Only a small part of their personalities would be fused into the groups of which they are a part. Of course, such a development could never be carried so far that all actions would be motivated by rational self-interest and efficiency. It does, however, represent a polar type or one alternative in a dichotomy of extreme types.⁴

article includes preliminary data prepared for U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. XVIII*, entitled, "Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities," by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr. The author is indebted to Dr. Taylor for making available the necessary facilities for this study, as well as the many personal suggestions in the preparation of these reports. The author, however, takes full responsibility for interpretations, as well as modes of analysis and presentation of the data. It should further be explained that the author has in mind no rigid definition of a community. R. M. MacIver's definition has been as useful as any for present purposes in *Society, Its Structure and Changes*, p. 9: "Any circle of people who live together, who belong together, so that they share, not this or that particular interest, but a whole set of interests wide enough and complete enough to include their lives, is a community."

³ If it be a breach in scientific principles to start with this orientation, it is only fair to the reader that it be mentioned at the outset. Whether it be a breach or not, a description of the points of departure and the sources of these should explain why certain methods of analysis are introduced. In the future, as the larger study progresses, it is hoped that the facts themselves will reveal the efficacy or inefficacy of these conceptual tools and that theory and fact may be mutually interwoven into a more adequate conceptualization.

⁴ It would, of course, result in an over-simplification if a frame of reference based solely upon a continuum between the poles of only one dichotomy were used. However, dichotomies have often proved useful to sociology. Max Weber's schematology included a third category *Kampf* (conflict). Sorokin's trilogy includes *familistic*, *contractual*, and *compul-*

Type B. Over against this type of local society may be set that in which the "rational pursuit of self-interest" is at a minimum, but other values such as those necessary for the perpetuation of friendship, the family, and other groups which do not always further the cause of rational self-interest, receive major emphasis. If a resettlement community became so well integrated that its members were related to one another organically as are the members of powerful families, this type would be approached. The settlers and their families would then have attitudes of unselfishness and altruism toward their neighbors which would often be incompatible with rational self-interest. They would tend all to belong to the same organizations and to be united by the same bonds and interests; so that group homogeneity and solidarity would prevail. They would stand together in weal and woe. If they were similar to most existing groups with these characteristics, they would be religious, revere tradition, and perform the most important functions of life according to customary procedures without conscious rational reflection or criticism. For them there would be other values greater than self-aggrandizement and no individual sacrifice would be too great in order to preserve the community or "we" group.

Of course, none of the projects will develop such extreme local societies as either of these. They will, however, develop cultures which fall somewhere between these two extremes. The original habits and attitudes of the settlers as well as the local and general environment, including the administrations which control the projects, will determine towards which extreme the development will go.

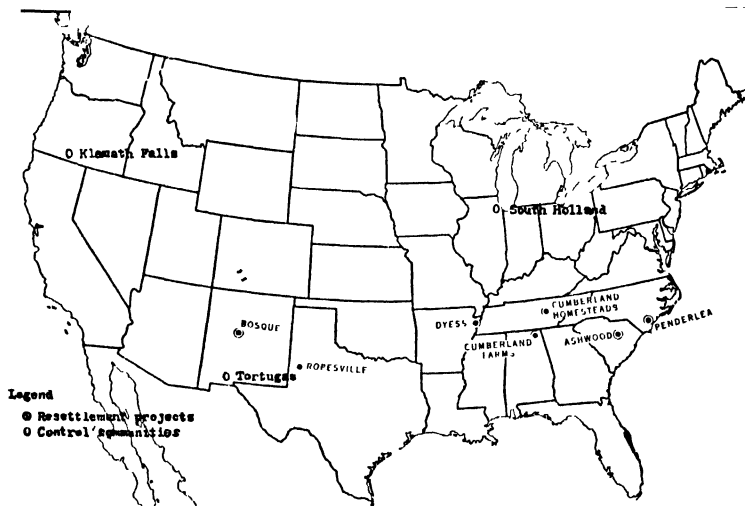
sory relationships. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, III, 33. See the latter, "The Principle of Limits in the Direction of Social Processes," *Proceedings American Sociological Society*, XXVI (1932), 19-27, for a discussion of reasons why one extreme type of group could not be attained as a permanent stage of development. One of the first sociologists to make use of such types was Ferdinand Toennies. His work, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (8th ed.; Leipzig, 1935), has formed the basis for many schemenologies.

There are also Durkheim's types, *solidarité mécanique* and *solidarité organique*, Vinogradoff's *Kinship Society* and *Political Society*, Cooley's *Primary and Secondary Groups*, Ross's *Community and Society*, Mauss's *Status and Contract*, and Redfield's *Folk Culture and Urban Culture*—to mention only a few such dichotomies. Since such a large number of scientists have used these or similar types they must have some significance. Some universal frame of reference must account for their resulting from, or use in, the analysis of empirical data. For a discussion of this problem as well as the types of Pareto, Durkheim, and Weber, see Talcott Parsons, "The Structure of Social Action," N. Y., 1937. See also Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, III (October, 1938), 672-83.

THE PROJECTS AND COMMUNITIES

The seven resettlement communities to which the preliminary findings reported in this paper refer are located in the South and Southwest. The three other older communities included as controls consist of a closely knit Dutch village in Illinois, an Indian-Mexican village in New Mexico, and an area on an irrigation project in Oregon and California⁵ (Figure 1, Table 1). The resettlement projects rank in size from Dyess Colony, Arkansas, with 484 families, to Ropesville, Texas, with 31 families.

FIGURE 1
LOCATION OF SEVEN RESETTLEMENT FARM PROJECTS AND THREE
CONTROL COMMUNITIES



⁵ These control communities were surveyed in connection with other studies and do not represent the best controls obtainable. They are all extreme in certain features. Few American communities are as closely knit by blood and religious ties as is South Holland. This rural community has accomplished the remarkable feat of insulating itself from important traits characteristic of the adjacent urban centers. The Mexican-Indian Village retains many diluted Indian cultural traits, but its citizens are farm laborers belonging to the Catholic Church. Both of these communities come more nearly resembling Type B than Type A communities described above. The Klamath Falls Irrigation Project is unique in that its settlers came from all parts of the country and all professions to take up valuable homesteads which made them some of the most prosperous commercial farmers of the nation. The holdings in this latter project were first occupied nine years previous to the field investigation. The community has no traditions which root in the past and the settlers have few common bonds except that they are dependent upon the market for their livelihood and many were world war veterans. In many respects it is an urbanized farming area and more nearly resembles Type A than Type B. It is hoped that the study may be extended to include more typical American communities.

TABLE 1
LOCATION OF COMMUNITIES STUDIED AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES
INTERVIEWED IN EACH

<i>Community</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Number of families in community*</i>	<i>Number of families interviewed†</i>
Resettlement communities			
Ashwood	South Carolina	63	63
Bosque	New Mexico	42	42
Cumberland Homesteads	Tennessee	200	181
Cumberland Farms	Alabama	22	127
Dyess	Arkansas	484	415
Penderlea	North Carolina	110	49
Ropesville	Texas	32	32
Total		1,116	912
Irrigation—reclamation			
Klamath Falls	California Oregon	†	84
Established communities			
Tortugas	New Mexico	100	33
South Holland	Illinois	600	443
Total		700	476
GRAND TOTAL			1,472

*At time of survey

†Does not include schedules discarded because of inadequate data concerning social participation

‡Not known

They range from subsistence homesteads to a project composed of large enterprises with an average of 120 acres⁶. The settlers range from the poorest type of relief client to large scale farmers and ranchers displaced by the land purchase program⁷.

EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL INSTITUTIONS⁸

Church Participation As stated previously, the type of community (B) in which religion or ideologies prevail which subordinate the individual to the group, has often been contrasted to the type (A) in which the individual is exalted above all else. Without attempting to evaluate

⁶ These figures are as of the time of the study. Since that date some changes have been made.

⁷ See C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., *op cit* for a complete description of the seven Resettlement Projects and C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard, *op cit* for a description of Klamath Falls Irrigation Project and Tortugas Indian Mexican Community. In the final report the identity of the seven resettlement projects can be retained, a procedure which limitation of space here precludes.

⁸ Data for nonchurch participation are now being analyzed.

the efficacy of the religion of American rural people, we now take up the discussion of church participation.

At the time of the field survey the churches on the seven projects were in a state of flux. In one instance there was disagreement between groups of settlers and the management concerning the type of religious services which might be held and the kind of organization which might exist upon the project. In no cases were all of the church buildings completed. All sorts of makeshift arrangements were used both with respect to equipment and ministers. Although many families may have attended church primarily because it offered an opportunity to become acquainted with other settlers and have, therefore, attended more than they will later, it is probable that general church attendance will increase in the future. Whether it will become as great as that in Tortugas⁹ or South Holland is a matter of speculation (Table 2). In both of these communities the focus of most social life is in the churches which receive much more support from their members than do the churches of the resettlement projects and the other communities included in the study.

The average annual attendance of husbands and wives on the seven projects at the various church services was not so great as it had been in the communities of residence previous to resettlement.¹⁰ However, the attendance of the settler children of both the older and younger age groups was more nearly comparable in the old and new communities.

INFORMAL GROUP INTEGRATION

Bonds Relating Individuals to Informal Groupings. When families find themselves among strangers, what factors will determine the families with whom they will strike up acquaintanceships? Are the characteristics of families which associate one with another in new communities or on the frontier, similar to the characteristics of the associates in the communities from which the families came? In order to answer these questions, the families on the seven resettlement projects were interviewed with a view to determining their informal associates both on the

⁹ The residents of Tortugas all attend the Catholic church. Their attendance is, therefore, difficult to compare with that of the other communities which are Protestant. The services of the Catholic Church were classified in such a manner as to make them as nearly comparable as possible with the services of the Protestant churches.

¹⁰ The attendance of persons who had not lived on a project a full year was calculated upon the basis of the period during which they were in residence there. No family interviewed had lived upon a project less than four months and some had been in residence there two years.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEETINGS OF SPECIFIED RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS ATTENDED PER YEAR BY HUSBANDS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN—SEVEN RESETTLEMENT PROJECTS AND THREE CONTROL COMMUNITIES

	Preaching		Sunday School		Young Peoples	
	Community of Residence					
	Previous to settlement	At time of study	Previous to settlement	At time of study	Previous to settlement	At time of study
Husbands						
Seven Resettlement Projects	17.8	15.1	18.9	13.6	3.6	1.2
South Holland		44.7		32.1		5.4
Klamath Falls	10.8	6.3	5.6	5.1	7.0	5.5
Tortugas		46.3		18.5		0
Wives						
Seven Resettlement Projects	18.8	14.9	19.9	14.5	3.9	1.4
South Holland		44.1		33.1		5.7
Klamath Falls	20.3	12.4	18.2	10.0	7.2	7.3
Tortugas		40.4		9.8		0
Children under 15 years of age						
Seven Resettlement Projects	18.1	18.1	26.1	23.0	4.6	3.1
South Holland		36.9		31.1		2.8
Klamath Falls	11.0	11.4	16.2	14.3	2.9	1.0
Tortugas		35.7		9.4		0
Children over 15 years of age						
Seven Resettlement Projects	21.5	24.6	28.4	28.7	11.2	11.4
South Holland		45.4		26.3		8.4
Klamath Falls	16.0	11.0	12.0	15.0	11.0	2.0
Tortugas		39.8		7.1		0

project and in the community of previous residence. The associates of the families in the three other communities were also determined. Each family head interviewed was requested to rank families on the basis of frequency of visitation to their home.¹¹ Also in each of the communities families exchanging work were ranked on the basis of the number of days' work exchanged and the families borrowing farm implements on the basis of the frequency with which such implements were borrowed. Where there were other indications of informal groupings these were also investigated.¹² After the names of the associated families were thus ranked, their characteristics were listed in order that the pairs of associating families in the various situations might be compared in an

¹¹ Only family visitation was studied. The visits of both parents together or either parent alone, whether or not accompanied by children, was defined as a family visit. The visits of children unaccompanied by their parents were not included.

¹² For example, carrying the mail for one another was used on one project.

effort to determine some of the bonds which were working towards group integration.

As a further step in the analysis, the nonassociating families in the immediate vicinity were ranked on the basis of the proximity of their residences to that of the interviewed family. The characteristics of non-associating families were also obtained for comparison with the interviewed families. Carrying the procedure further, the names of all families interviewed on each community were put in containers, shaken up, and pairs of random associations established in order that the characteristics of these random pairs of families might be compared with the actual associating families.

Correlation coefficients between similar characteristics of associating pairs of individuals were calculated to determine in what characteristics associating families tended to resemble one another.¹³ The assumption was made that, if the correlation coefficients between a given factor, such as total value of family living of the interviewed family and the total value of family living of the family visiting the interviewed family, most frequently was high, there prevailed a tendency for families living on the same plane or level of living to visit with one another more than there prevailed a tendency for families living on different planes or levels of living to visit. As a check on this assumption, correlation coefficients indicating the relationship between the level of living of the interviewed and the level of living for the nearest nonassociating family were calculated. Also the same coefficients were calculated for the families paired by random selection.

The correlation analysis indicated no items with respect to which families must have great similarity in order to associate. There seemed to be a considerable tendency for families which participated in the programs of the same number of formal social agencies to associate.¹⁴ Also

¹³ The data were first plotted on correlation charts, the problem was set up as follows: If *A* associated with *a* and each had total values of family living of X^1 and y^1 respectively, *B* associated with *b* and each had total values of family living of X^2 and y^2 respectively, *C* associated with *c* and each had total values of family living of X^3 and y^3 then the two variables in the problem would be *X* and *y* or the total values of living of the interviewed family and that of the family visiting with the interviewed family. *X* and *y* are two characteristics of one social relationship. If for many items the coefficients have been high, there would be predilection in favor of the assumption that there prevailed group homogeneity and that the community in question resembled Type B rather than Type A.

¹⁴ For 302 visiting pairs of families on six resettlement projects the coefficient for number of organizations contacted by all members of the pairs of families was .33; for 392 visiting pairs of families on the largest resettlement project, .45; for 465 pairs of families in South Holland, .18; for 21 pairs of visiting families on the Klamath Falls Irrigation

families which spent similar amounts of money for social participation, recreation, and clothing tended to associate. These indices are all directly or indirectly related to social participation.¹⁵

It is probable that in communities where association is not determined primarily by kinship bonds that subtle psychological and nonquantitative factors play important roles in determining which individuals or families will associate. Since some of the field investigators lived in the communities for long periods of time it was possible to test this latter hypothesis. It has not been disproved and will be investigated further.

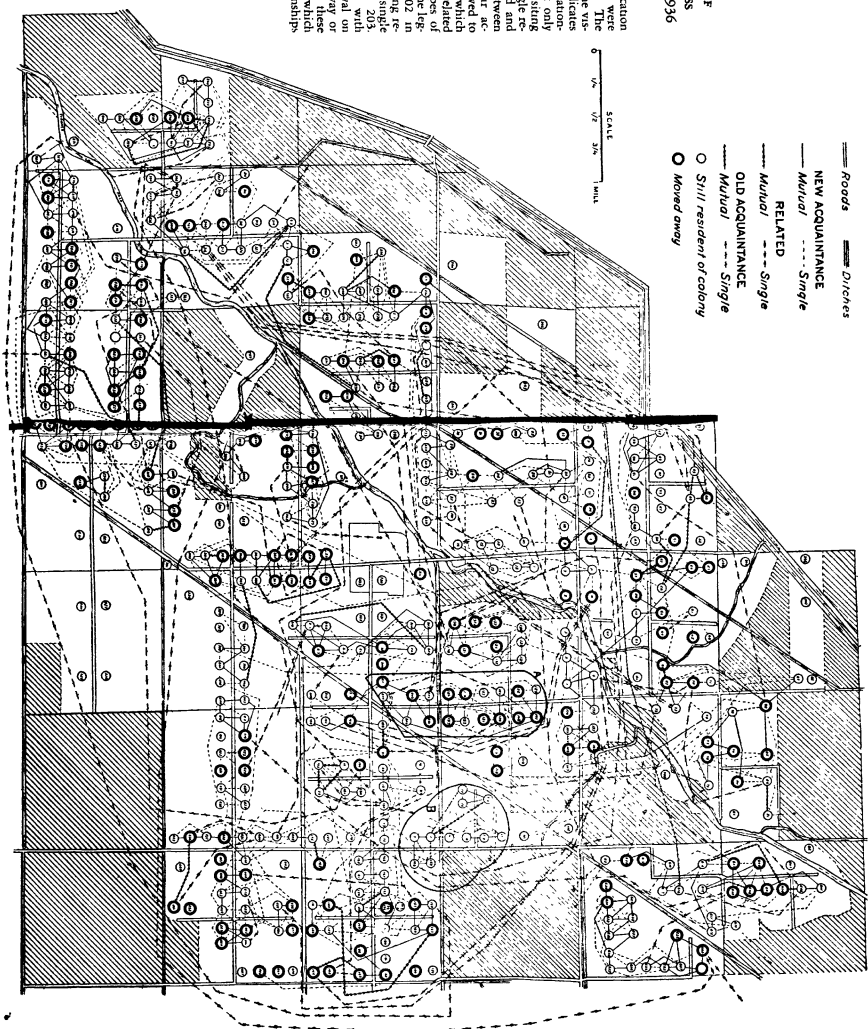
Blood Relationship. In the world at large there are few communities with great solidarity and integration, which do not have a considerable proportion of members who are interrelated one with another by blood ties. As previously stated, such communities may take on the aspect of large families. In the case of South Holland, 67 per cent of all families visiting the interviewed families most frequently were related to the interviewed family by blood ties and 73 per cent of the families which ranked fifth on the basis of frequency of visitation were kin of the interviewed families. On the seven resettlement projects only 12 per cent of the families visiting the interviewed families most frequently were related by blood ties to the interviewed families. In the communities of residence previous to resettlement, 35 per cent of the families visiting these same families most frequently were related by blood kinship to them.¹⁶ For Tortugas Indian-Mexican Village and the Klamath Falls

project, .42. Coefficients for total value of family living, age of male head, expenditures for social participation, and recreation and clothing expenses for the larger groups of families were of approximately the same magnitude for the groups for which they were calculated. Coefficients for the nonassociating pairs of families living closest together and for random families were of negligible magnitude in most cases. The number of families in each separate correlation problem varied somewhat because of the fact that some items of information were not always available for each family of an associating pair.

¹⁵ Coefficients which remain to be calculated for the pairs of associating families are the number of families contacting each family (family popularity), and the family attendance at meetings of community institutions and agencies as represented by the monthly attendance of the most frequent attendant. Also contingency coefficients indicating the relationships between factors having no continuum have been calculated. Among those gross correlation coefficients calculated for the three types of associating families, the nonassociating and random families were the following: schooling of male head, age of male head when married, persons in the resident family, density of occupancy of house, number of moves the family made in the past four years, number of children six years of age and under, and expenditures for reading and automobiles. Most of the results of this analysis were negative in the sense that the coefficients were low. However, partial correlation analysis may give further clues which will be significant.

¹⁶ The families ranking fifth on the basis of frequency of visitation with interviewed families were related by blood in 4 per cent of the cases on the resettlement projects and 26 per cent in the communities of residence previous to resettlement.

FIGURE 5
 VISITING RELATIONSHIPS OF
 FAMILIES RESIDING IN DYERS
 COLONY, ARKANSAS, MAY, 1936



The rings represent the actual location of the houses in which the settlers were living at the time of the survey. The line between these rings indicate the visiting relationship. A solid line indicates a new acquaintance, a dashed line indicates a mutual relationship, and a dotted line indicates a single relationship. A broken line indicates that only one of the families reported the visiting relationship. These mutual and single relationships, as shown by the solid and dashed lines, are usually formed by acquaintanceship since they have moved to the project, and between families which were old acquaintances, or were related by blood ties. These different types of relationships are shown by the solid, dashed, and dotted lines. For example, for family 202 in group A, there was a mutual visiting relationship with family 201, and a single visiting relationship with family 205. Family 202 and 65 prior to arrival on the project, and reported a one-way or single visiting relationship with these families. All of the families with which family 202 reported visiting relationships moved from the project.

Irrigation Project these percentages were 45 and 7 per cent respectively. It may thus be seen that associating families on the resettlement and reclamation projects were relatively infrequently bound together by blood ties. However, kinship played an important role in association in all instances in which related families lived in the same community. South Holland was the only community included in the study in which any considerable proportion of next-door neighbors (15 per cent) were related and yet did not associate. On most of the projects families traveled long distances to visit with their relatives when they had such.¹⁷

Children of Associating Families Playing Together. In the integration and solidarity of the family the absence or presence of children is of prime importance. Durkheim called them the "preventers of suicide."¹⁸ This is significant here because one type of suicide is prevalent in communities of Type A, described above as based upon rational self-interest. According to Durkheim, the larger the number of children, the less the chance that either parent will take his or her life. Children make for group solidarity. Community groupings involving families and their children are not so likely to be solely special interest groups created to serve some narrow economic or production interest. They are more likely to have the characteristics of Type B.

In the present study the interviewed families were asked whether or not their children played with the children of the families which visited, borrowed, or exchanged work with the interviewed families in other homes. On the seven resettlement projects it was found that almost three-quarters of all the families which visited the interviewed families most frequently had children who played with those of the interviewed family. It was also found that most of the other families which associated with the interviewed family had children who played with those of the interviewed family. The percentage of the most frequent visiting families which had children who played with those of the interviewed family was higher for the resettlement communities than for the communities of the project families previous to resettlement (64 per cent),

¹⁷ In closely knit peasant societies kinship binds the communities together, but friction between certain relatives may be very bitter. Such realistic rural novels as L. Reymont's *The Peasants* and P. Doerfler's *Apollonias Sommer* illustrate this.

¹⁸ Emile Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris, 1897). In his discussion of marital status as related to suicide, it is apparent that families with large numbers of children would compose the communities where his *solidarité mécanique* (Type B) prevails. This would resemble the organic traditional or familistic type described earlier as one pole of a possible dichotomy.

Tortugas Indian-Mexican Village (52 per cent), Klamath Falls Irrigation Project (42 per cent), and South Holland (21 per cent). Thus, the associating families of the resettlement projects are more frequently bound together by children's playing together than are families in the other communities. This is because the settler families were chosen from age groups with children of similar ages. In South Holland and Tortugas where there were a large number of blood relationships among associating families, the children less frequently played together. This is largely to be accounted for by the fact that many relatives had no children of the same age as those of the interviewed families. At Tortugas over half, and at South Holland over one-third, of the visiting families between which there was blood kinship were related as son or daughter to mother or father. This in most cases precluded the possibility of both families having children which could play together.

Distance as a Factor in Integration. Another reason the children of associating families more frequently play together on the resettlement projects than in the other communities is because of the shorter distance between homes.¹⁹ On the resettlement projects the families visiting most frequently lived only a little more than a third of a mile apart, whereas the families which visited the interviewed families most frequently in the communities of residence previous to resettlement lived almost a mile from the interviewed family. At Tortugas the distance was not so great, being slightly over one-half mile. However, at South Holland and on the Klamath Falls irrigation project, it was much greater, being more than two and slightly less than six miles respectively.

The geographical factor of distance was more important in determining associations of the resettlement projects than elsewhere. Those families which did not have relatives or old acquaintances living on the same projects tended to strike up acquaintanceships with their next-door neighbors. An analysis of the circumstances under which settlers became acquainted on one project indicates that 38.6 per cent had either paid or received a formal call.²⁰ Such calls were usually made to or by near

¹⁹ Toennies (*op. cit.*) emphasizes the importance of living together in one small area or neighborhood in the case of Gemeinschaft or Type B communities. However, it is not according to his theory always imperative that the families all live in one small neighborhood in order that there be a Gemeinschaft. People living together in urban apartment houses are often absolute strangers. However, other things being equal the type B communities would be more likely to exist if distances between homes of families are not great.

²⁰ The other circumstances under which settlers became acquainted were as follows: through meeting under fortuitous circumstances, 22.3 per cent; while participating in co-operative activities, 8.5 per cent; and at formal institutional gatherings, 2.4 per cent. In

neighbors. Figures 2, 3, and 5 indicate the importance of the geographical factors, such as distance and ditches, in determining association. Figure 3 shows that on one of the projects the few families which traveled considerable distances were related by blood or had been acquainted in the community of previous residence. Of the 621 visiting relationships on this project, 562 were between families living less than one-fourth of a mile apart. Of those 59 families living more than one-fourth of a mile apart, 30 were relatives or had been acquainted previous to resettlement.

On all the projects families are continually finding new friends and these usually live farther from home than the original associates. As the roads are improved and as settlers purchase more automobiles, the network of relationships change and the local groupings become less well integrated.²¹ Families are, however, probably finding more compatible associates. This may mean that groups will become more integrated, even if local geographical groupings are shattered.

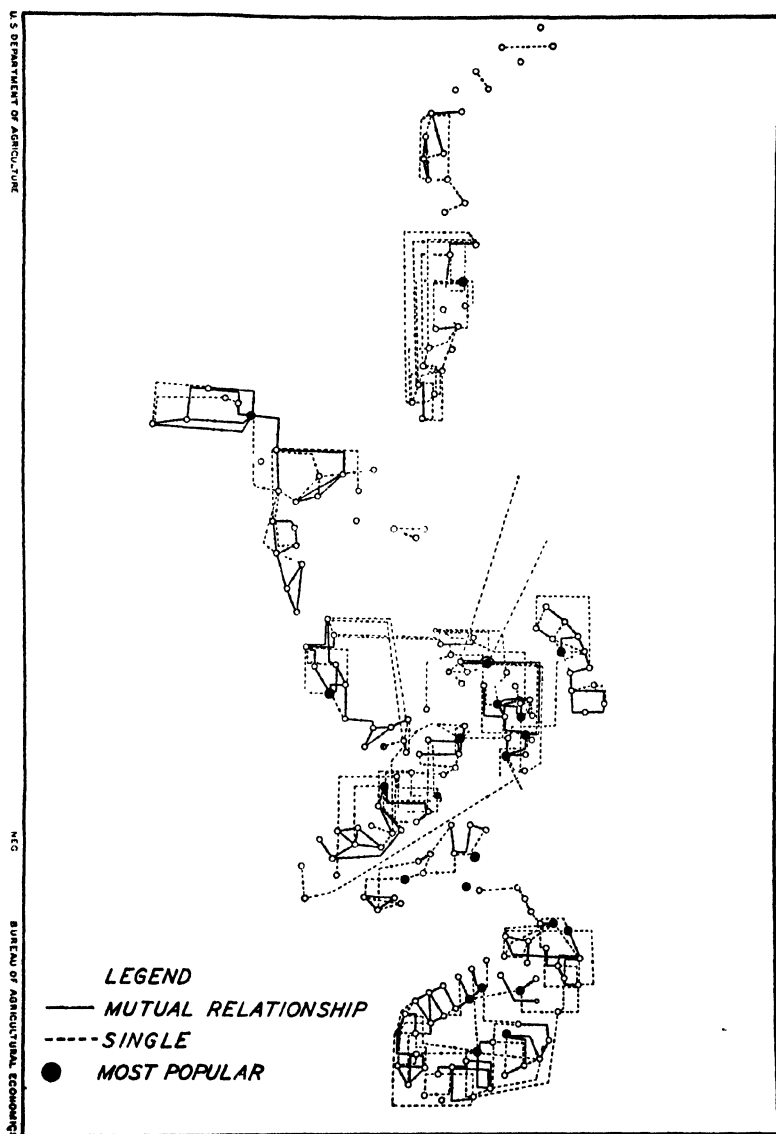
Common Organizational Participation of Families which Associate. It is difficult to conceive of any process in social change which is more important than secularization.²² Church participation does not indicate that this trend predominates on the resettlement projects. In fact almost as large a proportion of families visiting each other most frequently attend the same local church on the projects (48 per cent), as was true in the communities of previous residence (52 per cent). In the Catholic Indian-Mexican village of Tortugas, all visiting families attended the same church, whereas two-thirds and one-fourth respectively of the families visiting most frequently attended the same church at South Holland and Klamath Falls. Church membership homogeneity of visiting families was also studied. Twenty-four per cent of the pairs of visiting families had from 2 to 4 parents who belonged to the same denominations

addition there were 5.0 per cent who were acquainted prior to settlement, and 22.7 per cent who did not specify or gave miscellaneous conditions under which they became acquainted.

²¹ A recent preliminary check on one of the projects proved that families were traveling much farther to visit than was the case originally.

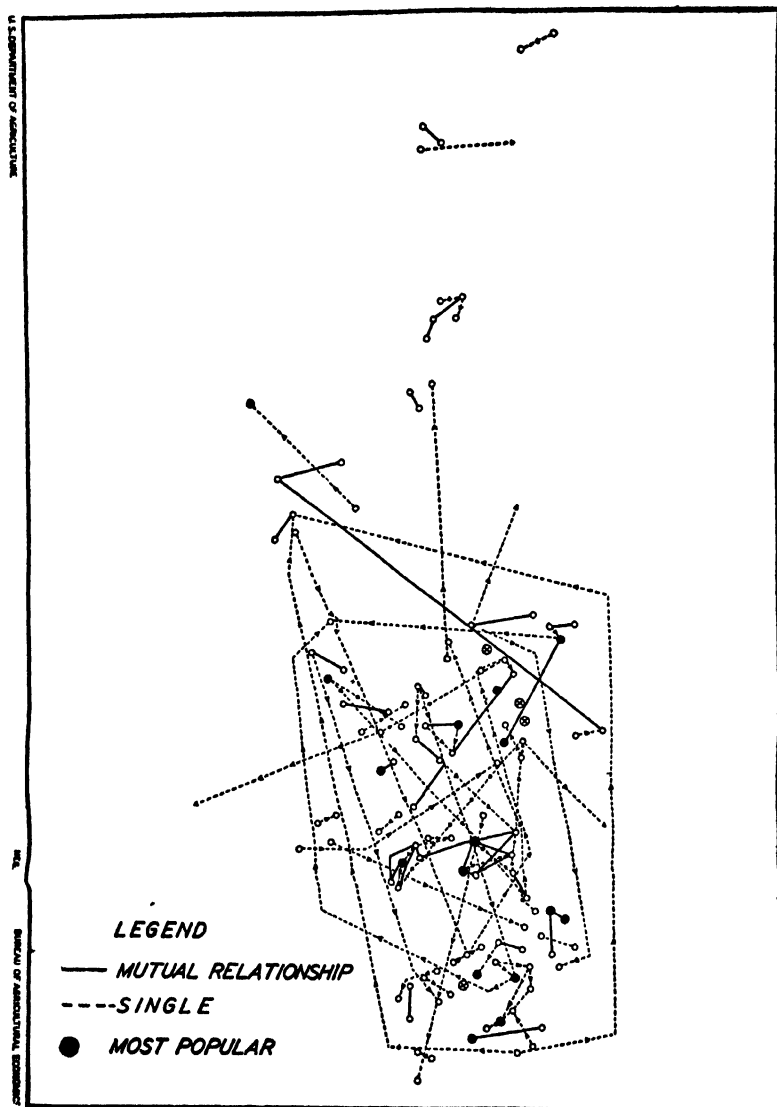
²² Howard Becker, "Processes of Secularization: An Ideal Typical Analysis with Special Reference to Personality Change as Affected by Population Movement," *The Sociological Review*, XXIV, No. 3 (October, 1932), pp. 226-86. As pointed out by Parsons (*op. cit.*), it is involved in Pareto's process of transition from dominance of residues of persistence to those of combination; in Durkheim's transition for solidarity or integration to *anomie*. It was a central theme in Max Weber's monumental works. It was certainly the most important process in Toennies' transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. This would be something of the nature of transition from type B to type A as above described.

FIGURE 2
VISITING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FAMILIES UNACQUAINTED PREVIOUS TO SETTLEMENT, CUMBERLAND HOMESTEADS, TENNESSEE, APRIL, 1936



This map indicates the importance of distance in the formation of informal groupings during the early stages of project development. The rings represent the location of the houses in which the settlers were living at the time of the survey; the lines between the rings, the visiting relationships. A solid line indicates that both families reported the relationship; a broken line, that only one reported it. These relationships have been established between families unknown to each other previous to settlement on the project. The black circles indicate the most popular families, judged so by having six or more families report visiting relationships with them.

FIGURE 3
VISITING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELATED FAMILIES AND FAMILIES
ACQUAINTED PREVIOUS TO SETTLEMENT, CUMBERLAND
HOMESTEADS, TENNESSEE, 1936



This map indicates visiting relationships among families which were acquainted previous to settlement. The twenty most popular families (indicated by the black circles) were found to have higher total values of living than the twenty least popular, these being \$1,032 and \$903 respectively. The popular families expended on the average twice as much for recreation as did the least popular families—\$12 and \$6 respectively. Church attendance was greater in the case of the popular families, being 1.6 times per month for husbands and 1.7 times for wives; whereas that for unpopular families was 1.0 times for husbands, and .6 times for wives.

on the seven resettlement projects. In the communities of residence previous to resettlement this percentage was 36, for South Holland, 64, for Klamath Falls, 12, and for Tortugas, 100. It may thus be seen that on a comparative basis religious bonds among associating families on the resettlement projects occurs less frequently than at South Holland and Tortugas, but more frequently than at Klamath Falls. This and the church participation of the settlers do not indicate that secularization is taking place rapidly.

Whether common membership of associating families in non-religious organizations is indicative of community integration depends upon several factors. At Tortugas no visiting families had common membership in nonchurch organizations, and at South Holland only 12 per cent of the most frequent visiting families had such membership, whereas in the highly secularized community on the Klamath Falls irrigation project, almost half of the visiting families had such membership. At Tortugas and South Holland the church dominates the informal social participation of the communities. At Klamath Falls it plays a minor role, allowing special interest groups and other organizations to become more important. On the seven resettlement projects one-third of the visiting families belong to common nonchurch organizations as compared with less than one-fifth of the visiting families in the communities of residence previous to resettlement. On the projects there are many special interest groups as well as general organizations most of which are sponsored by the local administration. Some projects have experts who give much of their time to the organization of these nonchurch activities.

Property Possessed in Common as a Social Bond. Toennies²⁸ emphasized the importance of common ownership of property, especially land, in communities which have the characteristics of *Gemeinschaft* or the type B described above. In none of the communities included in this study did many associating families own property in common. Only 6 per cent of the families visiting most frequently on the seven resettlement projects owned property in common. In the other communities the proportions were even smaller. Common property in land or implements is unimportant as a bond in any of the projects. Most projects have co-operatives. Unfortunately, however, few settlers thought of these facilities as common property. In time they may do so, especially if they come to determine the policies of the organizations.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*

Similarity of Attitudes and Habits of Associating Families. Basic to the differences in communities in which there is a predominance of organic or familistic social relationships (Type B) and those in which the prevailing social relationships are the result of cool rational calculation on the part of the individuals (Type A), are the attitudes of the people and the social norms which are fundamental to these attitudes.

In the present study no attitude scale was administered to the settlers on the projects. However, some makeshift approaches to the problem were made. Even though different political affiliations in America have seldom been indicative of different attitudes in a given community, they may have some significance. Slightly over 93 per cent of the interviewed families on the resettlement projects and over 90 per cent in each of the other three communities reported that the families which visited them most frequently had the same political affiliations.²⁴ Almost as large a proportion, 92 per cent, of the families which visited the settler families in the communities of previous residence were of the same political affiliation. However, there was not such great homogeneity of political affiliations among the pairs of neighboring families which did not associate. On the resettlement projects 15 per cent had different political affiliations. These percentages for Klamath Falls Irrigation project, and South Holland Dutch community were 14 and 15, respectively. It is thus evident that the political affiliations of visiting families in all of the communities are somewhat more homogeneous than among the nearest dwelling nonassociating families.

After the interviewed families had given the requested information relative to the characteristics of the families which associated with them, they were asked whether each of these families had habits similar to those of the interviewed families. This question was not explained and it was expected that responses would in most cases be "yes." However, if members of an associating family did have habits which members of the interviewed families detested, the answer was "no." In all of the communities in the case of most frequent visiting families over 90 per cent of the interviewed families answered "yes," with the exception of the case when the question referred to the communities in which the interviewed families lived previous to residence on the project. In this case

²⁴ Similar political affiliation meant that the husbands voted the same party ticket most frequently. If the husbands of either family or both families had not voted, the interviewed family's head was asked whether the visiting family had the same political leanings. No names of political parties were mentioned.

88 per cent answered "yes." However, among the pairs of nonassociating families living closest to one another the answer was more frequently "no." On the resettlement projects it was "no" in 35 per cent of the cases, on the Klamath Falls irrigation project, 11 per cent of the cases, in Tortugas Indian-Mexican village, 24 per cent of the cases, at South Holland, 32 per cent of the cases.

Without explanation the interviewed families were asked to give traits they had in common and in variance with the associating families which had not previously been touched upon in the interview. In all cases the associating families had more traits in common than the pairs of nonassociating families living closest to one another, also the associating families had fewer traits in variance than had the nonassociating families.

Combinations of Relationships Among Associating Families. Theoretically the more activities persons voluntarily engage in together, the greater one might expect the affinity between these persons to be. If this be true, there is reason to believe that the residents on the resettlement projects which visit together may develop an affinity which is not present in all other communities. The families which most frequently visited the interviewed families on the project in 57 per cent of the cases also exchanged work or borrowed farm implements or both. These proportions for the other communities are smaller²⁵ (Figure 4). The families which visited most frequently also carried on these other relationships more frequently than did the families which visited one another less frequently.

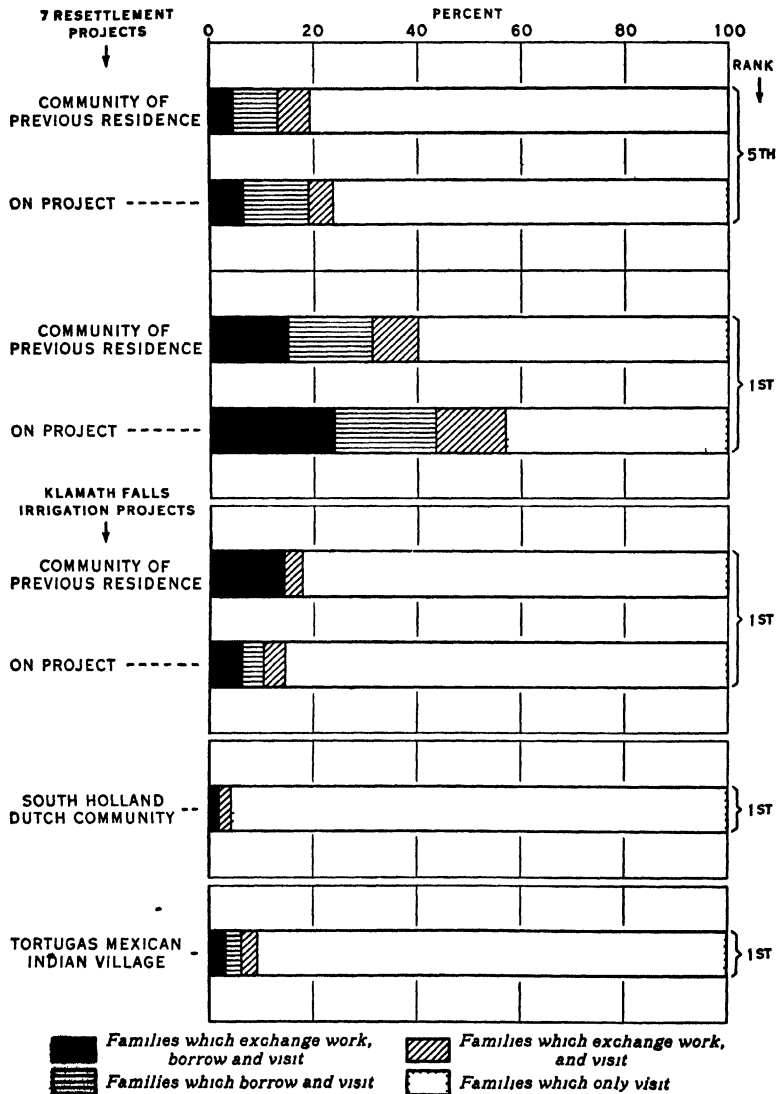
PROCESSES OF DISINTEGRATION

In all of the communities studied there are at work processes of disintegration as well as of integration. On one of the projects the greatest difficulty was migration away from the project; on another, contention between the management and some of the settlers relative to church activities; on another, strife between two groups from different sections of the country. Effort was made to analyze the underlying causes of community disintegration and suggest remedies. Space limitations will permit only one example of some of the methods employed.

²⁵ The families at South Holland and Klamath Falls were quite independent and owned most of the necessary farm equipment. At Tortugas the families were farm laborers and would naturally not exchange work or borrow farm equipment frequently. On the projects, co-operation was encouraged and many farmers who had previously been tenants did not have the necessary equipment.

FIGURE 4

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES VISITING INTERVIEWED FAMILIES WHICH VISIT ONLY, VISIT AND BORROW FARM IMPLEMENTS ONLY, VISIT AND EXCHANGE WORK ONLY, AND VISIT, BORROW, AND EXCHANGE WORK



* By frequency of visitation, the interviewed families were requested to rank families which visited them on the bases of the frequency of visitation of the parents. With one exception only the families ranking first in frequency are included in this chart. The families ranking 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th are not included except for the settlers of the resettlement project in which case the families ranking 5th are included. The analysis of the data indicated that the less frequently the families visited, the less the proportion which exchanged work, borrowed, or both with the interviewed family.

In the case of the project where outward migration was a problem, special procedures of analysis were devised. The investigators were confronted with the question, Why had such a large proportion of the settlers left a place where they had the best houses they had ever lived in, the best schools their children had ever attended, the best and most reasonable hospital and medical service, the best library and co-operatives they would probably ever know, the best opportunity to become owners they would probably ever have, to return to the status of sharecroppers in the Delta plantation area?

Group Differentials. The first step in the attempt to provide an answer to this question was to compare the 40 per cent of the families which left between May, 1936, after the first field investigation was made, and April, 1938, with the 60 per cent which remained.²⁶ This analysis indicated, as would be expected, that the families which had been most mobile previous to settlement were those which tended most to leave (Table 3). Also, those which had participated most in programs of formal community social activities in the communities of previous residence as well as those on the project were those for whom the holding power of the project was greatest. Also, those families with most children of school age more frequently stayed. If resettlement agencies desire to have well integrated communities, it is important that they select families of low mobility which participate in the social activities of their communities. In short they would select families which would be more adjusted in a type B than a type A community.

On the whole the movers were somewhat less well to do than the nonmovers, but they did not have higher formal educational attainments, neither were they less popular as measured in terms of the average number of families which visited them. It was concluded that these differences in movers and nonmovers were not great enough to explain why the movers left and the nonmovers remained. In the cases of other types of disintegration mere comparison of quantitative characteristics of individuals composing conflicting groups fell short of adequate explanation. Social processes had to be brought into the picture.

On the resettlement projects there are "grapevines" along which news and gossip passes to the various groups of settlers. Maps are being constructed for all projects indicating the families which visited,

²⁶ Chas. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., "Sociometry and the Study of New Rural Communities," *Sociometry—A Journal of Interpersonal Relationships*, Nos. 5 and 6, now in the hands of the printer.

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF 252 FAMILIES REMAINING AT DYESS COLONY SINCE MAY, 1936, WITH 169 FAMILIES WHICH LEFT DYESS BETWEEN MAY, 1936, AND APRIL, 1938.

Item	Movers	Nonmovers
Average number moves 1930-35*	2.2	1.7
Average distance moved in miles*	102.6	85.6
Percentage of families reporting moves 1930-35*	79.7	75.4
Average number of all organizations contacted on project†	2.07	3.0
Nonchurch organizations:		
On project.....	1.09	1.39
Community of previous residence.....	.72	1.04
Percentage of husbands not attending church or preaching service:		
On project.....	49	41
Community of previous residence.....	24	14
Average monthly attendance of husbands at church and preaching service:		
On project.....	1.05	1.07
Community of previous residence.....	1.11	1.24
Average number of visiting relationships.....	2.3	2.4
Average number persons in resident family.....	4.8	5.5
Average age male head.....	34.5	38.0
Average years of schooling of male head.....	7.4	7.3
Average age of male head when married.....	22.4	23.0
Average number children 6 years of age and under.....	1.3	1.4
Average number children 4-18 years of age.....	1.8	2.6
Average number children 10-15 years of age.....	0.7	1.0
Average value of family living‡.....	\$713.	\$774.
Percentage engaged in farming 1930§.....	70.3	76.4

*Does not include the move of the family to the colony when settlement was made. A move constitutes a change of residence for nonfarm families and a change of farm or plantation for farm families.

†The average number of organizations contacted includes all organizations at which some member of the resident family reported attendance during the schedule year.

‡C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., *op. cit.* Thirty-eight per cent of the movers and 38 per cent of the nonmovers had been living on the project one year previous to the interview: For these families the average value of family living for the movers was \$882 and for the nonmovers \$907. The remaining families in each group reported the value of family living for the year previous to settlement on the project with an average value of \$609 for the movers and \$689 for the nonmovers. Combining data for families reporting for a year's residence on the project with those reporting for a year off the project gives the figures used in the table.

§Only 4.4 per cent of all settlers in each of these two groups were farm owners in 1930.

exchanged work and borrowed.²⁷ From a study of the visiting relationships of the settlers on the project from which there was the greatest exodus, it becomes apparent that the movers originally constituted an in-group as also did the nonmovers.²⁸ If the map is studied carefully this will be apparent (Figure 5). Movers tended to associate more

²⁷ In this mapping cues were taken from J. L. Moreno's *Who Shall Survive*, published by the Nervous and Mental Diseases Publishing Co. in 1934. See also Loomis and Davidson, "Sociometrics and the Study of New Rural Communities," *op. cit.*

²⁸ The map showing relationships of movers and nonmovers would have indicated even more exclusiveness if the relationships on the map had been kept up to date. The data for it were collected almost two years before the last mover designated had left. Obviously there had been alternations in the alignments in the interim.

frequently with movers; nonmovers more frequently with nonmovers than would have been the case if association had been random or subject to no factors other than chance.²⁹ There are small groups of associating families in which movers predominated (see encircled portion A) and groups in which nonmovers predominated (see encircled portion B, Figure 5).

In instances some settlers were given to believe that the projects were to offer more opportunities than could ever be realized. A common claim of disillusioned settlers was that their original golden dreams resulted from promises made to induce them to become settlers. Also on most of the projects there existed policies, very important to the settlers, which were not infrequently altered or were never rigidly defined. For instance there were in some cases changes in policies regarding the type of tenure by which the settlers would hold the land and the rates they would pay. There were conflicting reports concerning payments for labor performed by the settlers or property purchased from them. There were changes in local administration officials and policies. Such conditions made a fertile field for rumor and conflicting reports which traversed the grapevines with great rapidity. In the case of the project with high mobility the families which later became movers tended to interpret such rumors to the disparagement of the project and the opportunities it offered. The groups of families which stayed were more critical of such rumors and gave them interpretations less unfavorable to the project. The decision whether to move or not to move was made in a social setting. It was not a matter of cool rational self-interest of individuals.³⁰

It has been suggested that local discussion groups and forums might assist in dispelling the false rumors and anxieties of the settlers. Also where possible, policies should be specific and all changes adequately

²⁹ Preliminary comparisons of the relationships depicted on Figure 5 with a situation in which only chance determined the association have been made. Combining mutual and single relationships, the total 885 visiting relationships were classified as follows: Relationships between movers and movers, 190; between nonmovers and nonmovers, 449; and between movers and nonmovers, 246. If there were no factors other than chance operating, these 885 relationships should be classified approximately as follows: mover-mover, 111; non-mover-nonmover, 370; and mover-nonmover, 404. All tests of significance indicate that the movers associated with movers and nonmovers with nonmovers more than would have been the case if only chance were determining the relationships.

³⁰ The letters of mover families wishing to return to the project prove that the decision to leave was due more to exaggerated dissatisfaction with the project than to exceptional outside inducements.

explained. No promises impossible of fulfillment should be made. If the communities are to be well integrated as much administration as possible should be left to the settlers. It is true that many well integrated communities have hierarchies of centralized control but these have developed through the ages and are organic, not arbitrary.

The maps indicating nets of relationships of settlers should be of value in administration. From them the leaders of the various groups can easily be determined. Conflicts between factions can be more intelligently dealt with. Also periodic remapping of the communities will assist in depicting the trends of community development. They have been very useful to the investigators in other phases of their analyses. For example, participant observers can more readily interpret various types of group and individual behavior.⁸¹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Preliminary results of an analysis of certain features in community development on seven rural resettlement projects have been presented. Certain aspects of the social participation of the families in formal and informal groupings have been described. Throughout three control communities consisting of an Indian-Mexican village, a Dutch truck farming community, and a group of farmers located on an irrigation project have been included for comparative purposes. Also the activities of the resettlement families in their communities of residence previous to resettlement have been compared with those of the families in the other communities and their own later activities on the resettlement projects. It is proposed that these communities be studied periodically in the future. At this early date it is hazardous to make any definite assertions relative to future trends. However, the following tentative conclusions are drawn.

1. There was no evidence of pronounced trends toward secularization on the projects. Although the settler families did not support their churches to the extent that residents of the Indian-Mexican and the Dutch villages did, there is no evidence of a decline of interest in religion.
2. Geographical factors, especially distance, play greater roles in determining families which will associate on the resettlement projects than in the other communities.

⁸¹ The maps of the original relationships were made from interviews with the families. Later school children filled out blanks indicating their own associates and those of their parents. They also indicated the families which they considered to be the most "popular" and the "best farmers." This information is also to be mapped.

3. There are other bonds besides distance which appear to be integrating elements on the resettlement projects. The associating families are often more dependent upon one another for various types of assistance than in the other communities. Also their children more frequently play together.
4. Pairs of associating families tend to be similar in the extent of their community social participation.
5. Families of high geographical mobility, of high occupational mobility, and those low in participation in the community programs, are not likely to become integral parts of new rural communities. These characteristics are probably as important as any others which might be considered in the selection of settlers for rural projects.
6. On resettlement communities there are "grapevines" of association over which rumors about project policies are communicated. If project officials desire to avoid difficulties they should be cognizant of these networks of relationships. They should, where possible, make project policies definite and clear. Project discussion groups and forums conducted principally by the settlers themselves might dispel erroneous rumors and misinformation which has often hindered project integration.

Diagnosing Rural Community Organization

*Douglas Enslinger**

ABSTRACT

Diagnosis of rural community organization is an attempt to select certain measurable and classifiable socio-economic factors about the organization and relationship patterns of the community which when analyzed will characterize the individuality of the rural community. The diagnosis must be based on a thorough understanding of the community structure and its social behavior. Complete and adequate definition of the social situation, gives a basis for analysis. The individuality of a rural community may be characterized according to: A. Village-Farm Relationships as being: *adolescent, mature, or debilitated*; B. Degree of Organization as being: *underorganized, overorganized, or disorganized*; C. Organizational Interaction as being: *circumscribed, conflictive, or cooperative*; D. Assimilative Character of a Community as being: *efficient, or inefficient*; E. Community Self-Sufficiency as being: *inadequate, partial, or adequate*; F. Leadership as being: *personal, positional, or organizational*; G. Community Self-Identification as being: *geographical distinction, history and tradition, competition or conflict with other communities or outside pressures, or divided loyalties*; and H. Community Activities and Events as being: *community supported activities, activities without community interest, or interest and activities lacking*. The manner in which these traits become integrated makes for uniqueness of the community.

This paper is based on a study of rural community organization as it was observed in ten New York rural communities. The field work was completed this past summer (1938). Frankly, the approach was exploratory. This study was made in the hope that we might be able to evolve a method of studying rural community organization. We felt that it was important to be able to describe and classify certain organizational traits and relationship patterns which characterized the community as a unique entity. It is not enough, however, to be able to describe and classify the individual traits. We must have some understanding of how these various complex traits become integrated, giving life and character to the community. Accordingly, we took into consideration not only the individual traits, but also the manner in which these traits became integrated into the community. The method of approach and the procedure in diagnosing the organization of the community as

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outlined in this paper were successfully applied to the ten communities studied.

In the past many studies have been made concerning the nature and structure of the rural community. Without these analyses the present approach would be exceedingly hazardous, if not impossible. We now have a considerable body of knowledge about the anatomy of rural society. We know that the rural community, as defined by Sanderson "consists of the social interaction of the people and their institutions in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a hamlet or village which forms the center of their common activities."¹

What then do we mean by community organization? From the very definition of the rural community it is clear that we must have some form of organization. With this organization there logically follows some "form of association" or a way of behaving, giving certain rather well established traits and relationship patterns, which are different in each community. It is the manner in which these various traits are integrated that gives the community an individuality. We are, then, talking about the dynamics of the community, the community as a living, growing, and ever changing entity. It is the social behavior of the community that is to be studied and analyzed.

It then becomes our task to set forth a logical procedure for approaching the community in action, and to determine the factors or combination of factors which when integrated characterize the uniqueness of the community and give it an individuality.

The physician asks of his patient, whether he be seeking information for a cure of an ill or the prevention of a disease, certain facts. Some of these are taken as authentic as given by the patient, for he alone can describe how the pain in his stomach feels, or whether or not he came into direct contact with John, who now has the measles. Other information such as blood pressure, temperature, skin color, etc., the physician can secure by personal examination of the patient. In making this approach to the organization of the rural community one must rely first on certain information which can be secured on a formal schedule, and second on the statements of informants who describe, to the best of their abilities, the social situation as they see it.

DEFINING THE SOCIAL SITUATION

A social situation can be defined only from the person's own point of

¹ Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston, 1932), p. 481.

view. Each person has different relationships with different organizations and institutions. Within specific organizations and institutions different people will define the situation differently because of their own particular positions. A community is made up of a complexity of relationship patterns. It takes a keen observer, and one who plays many roles in the community, to see it as a whole. It is necessary to interview informed rather than official leaders, because the official person too often does not see the organization or the community as it really functions. It is not to be inferred that the official person may not be the best informed, as this indeed is frequently the case, but nevertheless emphasis should be placed on the importance of the informed person. The first task upon entering the community is to ascertain from the people what organizations and institutions are active. The task is then to find the best informed people in each organization. There is frequently considerable overlapping of information, for some people are capable of giving information about several organizations as well as the community as a whole. The community informants are best selected by asking many people "Who are the most outstanding leaders in the community?" In every community a few people will stand out as being recognized leaders. These outstanding leaders vary in their abilities to define the field completely, but each will be capable of defining certain specific parts, according to the particular position he maintains in the community. It is like having several people standing in a circle with an elephant in the center. If each person should describe what he saw, one would probably describe the head, another the side, etc. By putting the various parts together, it is possible to arrive at a description of the elephant. The community presents a similar field with certain recognized informants, each defining the field as it appears to him. By analyzing the information obtained from the informed observers (those considered as community leaders, and organizational and institutional informants), the field can be completely and adequately defined. In many communities single individuals are capable of defining the field completely. This, however, varies with the size and complexity of the community.

Information obtained from the informants is of primary consideration, and a factor that cannot be overemphasized. It is important to bear in mind that the interview should be given direction to the extent that certain questions concerning particular organizations and institutions are asked and discussed with each informant who is interviewed. Equal

consideration should be given to interviewing the community leaders who are able to describe the whole community as a socially interacting unit.

Much has been written and a great deal more has been said about approaching the community structurally or functionally. This study cannot be an "either or." We must consider both structure and function. However, it would appear logical to know first something about the social structure, and later to observe it as it functions.

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS²

The organization in most cases has a name which tells very little about that particular organization in an individual community. Each organization and institution plays certain rather well-defined roles in a specific community. This does not mean however that the Grange, which in one community serves as the strongest integrating force, will have a similar relationship in the neighboring communities. Because of these organizational roles and relationships, we find that each community is somewhat unique in the way the organizations function. For the person beginning a similar study it would probably be wise to have a schedule which would serve as a guide to the interview and insure uniformity. Examples and illustrations given during the interview give real life to the analysis. There is no way to secure such information on a formal schedule. The taking of brief notes, which may be dictated into a dictaphone following the interview and later transcribed, may add greatly to the analysis. In case of some organizations it will probably be necessary to interview more than one person, because, as is frequently the case, some individuals fail to see the organization as it functions in the community.

One of the greatest dangers in getting information about organizations is that of accumulating information which answers no questions and only adds bulk to the study and confusion to the analysis. The following factual information can be readily obtained and points directly to the diagnosis of the community.

(1) *Membership composition:* Sex, age groupings, membership by village and farm population, attendance by village and farm population. What, if any, groupings are excluded because of social or economic positions held in the community?

(2) *Program of work and membership activities:* What is the

² The concept institution as used in this paper refers to the church and school.

present program of work? What has organization accomplished in the past? How are programs executed? What is the response of members to meetings? to organization projects? Does the organization fill a need in the community? If so, what?

(3) *Leadership*: What are the leadership problems? Who are the leaders? How long have the present leaders served? Are people willing to accept leadership? Are the members good followers? Are the organization leaders also community leaders?

(4) *Relationships with other organizations and institutions*: Certain relationships will be brought out under program of work but other points which need emphasis are: with what organizations or institutions does the organization or institution co-operate, conflict, or compete? What is the nature of this interaction and its intensity?

(5) *Problems*: What are the most important organizational or institutional problems now facing the organization or institution, such as more interest, maintaining its position in the community, etc?

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY

Having secured the names of the community leaders, one can begin to make inquiry concerning interrelationships and organizational and leadership patterns, and may soon see the community as an integrated unit. Great care should be exercised in interviewing these leaders, for they have a recognized position in the community and therefore should be given assurance that their statements will be treated as confidential. There is danger of the interviewer's directing the conversation too rigidly so that answers to questions are suggested. In every community there are people putting themselves forward as leaders. It must be recognized that leadership does not exist without a following. Making an analysis of offices or positions held by individuals reveals little about leadership. By careful consideration of this subject in this study, it soon became obvious that the people who were the followers were the best qualified to single out their leaders. They also gave apt reasons for their selections. Significantly enough the persons who were recognized by most of the people in the community as being their leaders were capable social technicians and showed real skill in their ability to see the community objectively.

The following information has bearing on the community as an interacting social unit. This information, together with that secured about

specific organizations and institutions, gives one an understanding of the social behavior of the rural community.

(1) *Community leaders*: Who are the leaders? What is their economic position? Why are they considered leaders?

(2) *Farm-village relationships*: What are the relationships between the farm and village people? To what extent do the two groups work and plan for the larger community? More light will be thrown on this by an analysis of membership composition of specific organizations.

(3) *Economic and cultural groupings*: To what extent are such groupings present? How does their presence affect the community?

(4) *Organizational and institutional relationships*: Specific information will be secured on each organization and institution, but the extent to which these relationships color the social atmosphere needs further study.

(5) *Pertinent community history and tradition*: What are the historical facts about the community? How have these influenced the community? Does the community have any interesting traditions? How do these affect the community today?

(6) *Community identity*: To what extent are the boundaries well defined geographically? What part have history and tradition played? What effect does competition or conflict with other communities, or outside pressures play? Are the people in the area loyal to the community?

(7) *Community problems and needs*: What are the most outstanding needs or problems of the community? How are they being met? What organizations are best equipped to work on the solution of these problems?

(8) *Community spirit*: What is the status of community spirit? How well do people support projects or rally to a need?

(9) *Assimilation of newcomers*: How do newcomers entering the area find their place in the life of the community?

(10) *Community services and facilities*: What services and facilities are available for the people in the community (doctors, grocery stores, churches, movies, etc.)?

(11) *Community activities*: What are the things the community does as a community? What programs do specific organizations carry on for the entire community? How well do the people support these activities with their presence?

Having secured the information as outlined in the preceding pages of this paper, one should begin to weigh the findings and see relationships

clearly enough to classify the community according to the traits of the following outline which will enable one to determine the community individuality.

COMMUNITY INDIVIDUALITY

A. Farm-Village Relationships: An analysis of the farm-village relationships gives one a measure of the strength of relationships between farm and village people. The following classification may be used to characterize the status and present trend.

1. *Adolescent:* Relationships may be classified as adolescent when the psychological barrier between the villager and farmer is crumbling, and a sense of interdependence is springing up. There is still a difference of feeling but the relationships are improving.

2. *Mature:* Having passed from the adolescent stage, the farmer and villager habitually work and plan together for the larger community. There is no longer a psychological barrier separating these two groups.

3. *Debilitated:* In many communities social change has caused a reversal of relationships. The social and economic patterns have changed. This frequently occurs in suburban communities which are experiencing a changing population. Frequently the newcomers commute to the adjoining cities or larger towns. This frequently causes a weakening of relationships between the farmer and villager. They act as though their interests are no longer mutual. Their feeling of interdependency is weakening.

B. Degree of Organization: Every rural community, if it satisfies the definition, must have some degree of organization. Obviously therefore, in any attempt to diagnose the degree of organization, it is necessary to analyze critically the social structure as it functions. The status of community organization may be described as:

1. *Underorganized:* An underorganized community has first a deficiency in organizations to meet the needs of the people. Our consideration of the community deals with its organizational pattern as it functions in the larger unit; i. e., village and country. From this point of view it may be underorganized when (a) there is an absence of any active organization uniting all interests of people in a program of community-wide scope; (b) when the existing organizations fail to penetrate deeply into the population. There may be adequate social machinery but failure to reach the people.

2. *Overorganized:* In contrast to an underorganized community there may be too many organizations for the size of the community, or there may be overlapping or duplication of efforts, leading to competition and conflict.

3. *Disorganized:* We must first assume that a community previously experienced a state of organization of some nature. When the social structure begins to crumble and old habits and customs resist change, disorganization usually

results. It is apparent that a certain amount of disorganization precedes adjustment. However in some communities habits and customs so stubbornly resist change that they prevent such a process from resulting in harmony.

C. Organizational Interaction: Certain rather definite relationship patterns appear as organizations and institutions function. By careful analysis of the programs of work and the activities carried on by each organization and institution, it becomes clear that there are certain organizations in co-operation or conflict with other organizations. Some organizations appear to work independently. Granting that there is, in every community, a complexity of relationship patterns, it is possible to discover one predominant pattern of interaction. This pattern may be:

1. *Circumscribed:* All communities vary in respect to the ways their organizations deal with one another. In some communities each organization tends to go its own way and have little to do with other organizations. In such a case we would say that the interaction is *circumscribed*.

2. *Conflictive:* In other communities organizations interact much more frequently. If most of the interaction between the organizations is antagonistic then we describe it as *conflictive*.

3. *Co-operative:* If, on the other hand, organizations for the most part work in harmony with each other, and carry on common activities and events, then we term the interaction *co-operative*.

D. Assimilative Character of a Community: Some rural communities are constantly experiencing a new and ever changing population. The way these new people are assimilated into the life of the community varies widely. A community may be considered as either *efficient* or *inefficient* in the way it assimilates new families. If it answers the following question affirmatively, we would classify it as efficient. If not, it would be considered as inefficient.

1. Does a newcomer, meeting community standards, find the people friendly?
2. Is a newcomer invited to join organizations?
3. Is a newcomer given a part to play in community life, i.e., asked to support projects, looked to for advice, elected to office, etc.?

E. Community Self-Sufficiency: The economic base and service facilities reveal much about the character of the rural community. The self-sufficiency may be classified according to the following categories:

1. *Inadequate:* Each community is unique in the way it provides for the needs of the people. In some communities, the services and facilities to be found in the village are limited, providing little more than a general store and churches. In such a situation, we classify the self-sufficiency of the community as *inadequate*.

2. *Partial*: In other communities, there may be an economic base sufficient to support a centralized school or high school, but people still have to go outside the community for one-half or more of the services needed. This type of self-sufficiency, we would classify as *partial*.

3. *Adequate*: However, some communities have a village center which provides for most of the needs of a large rural area. Such a community we would classify as adequate, realizing that some services are to be secured from outside.

F. *Leadership*: Efficient community organization requires leadership. More important, however, this leadership must have followership. The following classification of leadership reveals a great deal about the leader's position in the community and his probable ability to see the social field as a unit. Persons classified as leaders for *personal* reasons usually see few relationships. *Positional* leaders have a much broader understanding of the community. *Organizational* leaders, however, appear to have the broadest understanding of the community and its social behavior.³

1. *Personal*: In some communities people are recognized as leaders because of their personal standing in the community as, for instance, for honesty, for being a hard worker, or for being respected for integrity and judgment. When most of the people look to such individuals for personal reasons, we would classify the leadership as *personal*.

2. *Positional*: Leadership is characterized as positional when most of the people in the community look to positions, such as minister, town supervisor, school principal, or mayor, for community leadership.

3. *Organizational*: In other communities the recognized leaders are identified by most people with organizations as strong in grange, civic club, parent-teachers association, extension program, etc. When this is the case the leadership pattern would be *organizational*.

G. *Community Self-Identification*: If the community is to have an identification, which is of primary consideration for community organization, the individuals and organizations from within a specified area must think of it as having an identity which is distinctly different from adjacent areas. There must be a sense of "belonging" and a recognition of relationships from within, to give unity. For the rural community this recognition of self is of as much importance as for the individual to have created in himself a feeling of self-consciousness.

1. *Geographical distinction*: In certain communities topography and geographic location of the community so definitely determine the boundaries of the

³ The more organizations leaders are identified with, the broader is their understanding of the social situation.

community as to give it a distinct place as a social unit. Because of the geographic location, boundaries are distinct.

2. *History and tradition*: Many communities have, because of a unique history, developed certain traditions which act as an organizing and integrating force in the community. Where tradition has become a tool of social control, certain pressures automatically operate, making for immediate identification and early recognition of interrelationships.

3. *Competition or conflict with other communities or outside pressures*: Some communities are loosely organized and interrelationships are not distinct. When the position of the community is threatened by adjacent communities, relationships become crystalized and identification is much more distinct. The same social process frequently works when outside pressures are brought to bear on the local community.

4. *Divided loyalties*: When a large share of the population living within a certain area has outside interests, their loyalties are divided and complete identification lags. This frequently is the case in the suburban communities, where the people with employment in the cities are "moving in." Along with economic interest, social ties appear to be stronger outside the resident community. These divided loyalties block interest and participation, so vital to community organization.

H. *Community Activities and Events*: Communities may have certain activities or events which are designed for a specific purpose, namely, to bring all the people together as a unit. Certain organizations may assume leadership and have as a part of their program of work, the sponsoring of certain activities which are for the entire community. In such cases the organization serves as the host to the community. The availability of activities for community expression is important, but the manner in which the community rallies to the support of these events characterizes the morale and spirit of relationship existing in the community.

1. *Community-supported activities*: Communities would be so classified when there is a presence of activities and events which are actively supported by the people of the community.

2. *Activities without community interest*: In other communities there may be ample offering of community events, but the interest on the part of the people is lacking.

3. *Interest and activities lacking*: Still other communities are lacking in both offering of events and the interest of the people in having such activities.

COMMUNITY DIAGNOSIS

The selection of important socio-economic factors about the organization and relationship patterns of the community, together with an understanding of how they are integrated, best brings out the individu-

ality of the rural community. Psychologists are making considerable progress in describing the personality and personality traits of individual persons. From these analyses we can see that each individual is unique in that he possesses certain traits or combinations of traits which are peculiar to him. An insight into the organization pattern of a rural community reveals that the community also possesses certain unique traits which are measurable and classifiable. The manner in which these traits become integrated makes for the uniqueness of the community. Today, socio-psychological thinking makes considerable contribution to such an analysis. It must be clear that this approach cannot be purely statistical, but by no means should this make it less scientific. It requires a working knowledge of the tools and techniques of social psychology and a thorough understanding of the structure and function of the rural community.

CONCLUSION

In this study we have tried to keep in mind that there are two closely related, yet distinct, jobs to be done. In the first place, one must come to an understanding of the social situation. The second task is that of characterizing the organizational behavior of the rural community in such a manner as to give it meaning. Today, we speak of the organization of the community, yet we are unable to characterize this organization with any precision. This study has been made along such lines that anyone following it may be able to come to an understanding of rural community organization. It should give added meaning to speak of the organization of the "sunset" community as:

- A. The farm-village relationships as being *mature*.
- B. The degree of organization as being *overorganized*.
- C. The organizational interaction as being *co-operative*.
- D. The assimilative character as being *efficient*.
- E. The community self-sufficiency as being *adequate*.
- F. The leadership pattern as being *organizational*.
- G. The community self-identification as being *geographically distinct*.
- H. The community activities and events as being *actively supported*.

Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the Pacific States

*Paul H. Landis**

ABSTRACT

In the Pacific Coast States, which have long been accustomed to seasonal labor not only in agriculture but in lumbering and fishing, transient farm labor has become a problem of major proportions. A lag yet exists, however, in the way in which the farm labor problem is being met. Unlike problems of urban industry it has not been approached from the social viewpoint, the philosophy of the rural economy still being that each man is responsible for his own sins and is capable of carrying his own burdens. Social legislation designed to underwrite the risks of the socially inadequate embraces chiefly the urban-industrial classes, even though the farm laborer on the West Coast has long been subject to as much exploitation and as much uncertainty in his mode of life as has any urban-industrial group. A highly unstable agricultural industry is not able to carry full responsibility for the security of farm laborers; therefore, programs designed to stabilize agriculture should ultimately effect an improvement in the lot of the laborer. There is room for a great deal of improvement in the social and economic conditions of the various types of agricultural workers, conditions which not only endanger health and general welfare in the Western states but also threaten the West's reputation for social equality. Among the important gestures of groups interested in problems of farm labor are two recent measures of the Farm Security Administration: a socialized health program for the lower strata in agriculture in California; and the development, on an experimental basis, of a chain of sanitary farm labor camps up and down the coast, both of these programs being financed chiefly by the federal government.

ELEMENTS IN OUR CULTURE AFFECTING THE FARM LABORER ON THE PACIFIC COAST

The Pacific states constitute one of the most commercialized agricultural regions in the nation, with operations scaled chiefly for the cash market. Many of the crops of this region require large amounts of hired labor for only a short time each year. These states have long contained a number of seasonal industries aside from agriculture—lumbering and fishing especially, which have been conducive to the development of public tolerance for seasonal work. They still maintain vestiges of a male frontier civilization, so that there is perhaps less feeling of respon-

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sibility on the part of both agriculture and other industries for giving the worker security.

The West is able to capitalize on the migrant psychology. It has in the past and will in the future be able to depend on a large group of immigrants who are willing to do any kind of work at any kind of wage in order to share its supposed climatic advantages.¹ Added to the climatic factor, which is probably the most impelling, is the general assumption that the West is still a land of economic opportunity. This notion is to some extent a carry-over from our previous national drift westward, but a part of it is still based on fact. The standard of living in the Pacific Coast is higher, as measured by certain indices at least, than in any other equally large region in the nation.² Relief loads in the Pacific states while high are much lower than the national average, in spite of problems resulting from population influx.³

The West is looked upon as an area of opportunity for agriculture, at least by the periodically drought-stricken Great Plains. Many drought sufferers dream of a West where one can find free timber for building a log house, adequate soil and water for a garden, and plenty of fuel for the cutting. His dreams of the West may not conform to reality, but to him they constitute sufficient reality to provide a basis for action. It is also generally known that in the West there are reclamation projects under way which promise soon to transform more great desert tracts into gardens. Some of the drought migrants hope that they may be able eventually to gain possession of an irrigated plot, where they can make their own rain instead of praying for it.

¹ A study of sectional preferences made by *Fortune* (October, 1937) as revealed by answers to the questions: "Suppose that you were to move to another part of the country to live, which would you choose, taking into consideration economic opportunity, the kind of people who live there, and general living conditions? Which part would you avoid going to?" showed that a much larger per cent would choose the Pacific Coast than would choose any other region and that a much smaller percentage would avoid it than would avoid any other region. It is a generally known fact that California, during the 1920-30 decade, experienced the largest population increase through interstate migration than any state in the nation has even seen over a similar period of time. Approximately 45 per cent of the people living in Washington in 1930 were born in other states, and 16 per cent were foreign born.

² See for example Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936); *Cultural Regions Within the Rural Farm Population* (mimeographed), Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration (Washington, 1938); Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture," U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. VIII* (Washington, 1938).

³ Paul H. Landis, Mae Pritchard, and Melvin Brooks, "Rural Emergency Relief in Washington," Washington Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin No. 334* (Pullman, 1936), Fig. 2, p. 9.

All of these factors on the Pacific Coast have a direct bearing on the farm labor problem as the Coast is experiencing it today, and all of them will have a direct effect on it as it develops in the future.

It seems likely that the farm labor market in the West will be periodically flooded for some years to come, even though certain localities may at times lack sufficient help to harvest their crops. Periodic droughts in the Great Plains will continue to send farmers westward, and problems of the cotton belt will no doubt continue to force many to seek a place on the Coast. Added to this influx is the drift from city to farm which affects the West more than some other sections in that there the farm tends to receive not only the drift from its own near-by cities, but also the footloose persons of urban and rural communities alike who, when they have nothing else to do and want to see the world, naturally think of the highly advertised West. This fact leaves the worker in seasonal agriculture open to a great many types of exploitation. For example, as long as there is a multitude on hand seeking work, it will be easy for the employers to advertise that the hop season will begin on a certain date, which is usually set two weeks before it actually begins, and have on hand, even before the season begins, more workers than are ever needed for the job. Under such a system it becomes an easy matter to reduce the picking season to two weeks when it might logically be spread over four weeks, and as a consequence the workers obtain only one-fourth to one-half time work while on location, when they otherwise might have been given full-time work for the period while they were in the locality. Obviously under such a system, bargaining power on the part of the laborer, barring federal interference,⁴ is likely to remain extremely low.

INTERSTATE CHARACTER OF THE FARM LABOR PROBLEM ON THE WEST COAST

The high mobility of the labor group in the West which carries the workers beyond state lines has a number of implications. The coastal movement will probably always tend to be interstate, because of the climatic cycle, which affects the harvest season somewhat, but which affects human desires even more. It has long been known that the "idle rich" like to winter in California. The people at the other end

⁴ The beet contracts are an interesting innovation in the interests of the laborer. One of the conditions of compliance is that labor is paid at least the minimum wage established by the government for the area.

of the economic scale also like to winter there, and for this reason large numbers of migrants on the Pacific Coast will probably always tend to remain in California in winter. Likewise, they will tend to summer in the north, because of the supposed climatic advantages of the northern states in hot weather. Therefore, a considerable number of migratory laborers will be crossing state lines twice or more each year. This means that no state acting alone can handle the farm labor problem. It seems likely that California will always have to bear more than its share of the burden of caring for transient laborers through the winter, but of course, California has more farm laborers than any other state in the union to start with and more need for them.

The farm labor problem on the West Coast is such that national agencies rather than state agencies must help co-ordinate the seasonal movements of laborers by supervising the timing of movements, by handling relief for farm laborers, and by formulating programs involving problems of their health, welfare, and security. The old county relief and county health programs are not only inadequate for meeting the nomad's needs but also inequitable to the locality. Under the present system even cities are obliged to help winter on relief a portion of professional agricultural workers.

The migratory labor problem on the West Coast also complicates schooling. Because of the high degree of mobility the locality or state that vigilantly enforces truancy laws and strives to develop educational standards for the transient incurs a great deal of expense and trouble at local cost.

I am not prepared to present any solution, but there is much evidence to indicate that present methods of handling the educational problem of the transient are far from being satisfactory, both for the community and the laborer. What is true of education is true of all institutional problems, perhaps to a lesser degree. We consider schooling essential to the welfare of the child and to the welfare of the nation. Many no longer consider participation in the church or a sense of civic responsibility absolutely essential.

Obviously problems of social control in communities being visited periodically by great masses of migratory laborers become critical. With many of these migratory groups the Pentecostal Church is about the only link between social responsibility and personal freedom. It is commonplace knowledge with the sociologist that one who is perpetually moving is ordinarily little affected by community controls. Lack

of community control among the transient group becomes a community problem and one which is being ineffectively handled.

THE ARCHAIC SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF A COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

There has been a growing consciousness in the urban-industrial community that industries are motivated by a desire for profits, not by human sentiment, and therefore that social control on the part of the neutral public is essential to the welfare of the worker and to the welfare of the state. It is significant that this philosophy has borne fruit in social legislation, social welfare, and social security for the urban-industrial worker.

To date there has been little development of social consciousness in the agricultural industry. It is still assumed by the neutral public that the agricultural industry is a family-farm enterprise in which the farmer is a patriarch not only among the members of his own family but among his workers as well. The average person thinks that the farm labor problem deals with the relationship between the farmer and his hired man and assumes that the hired man is a person who, like the hired girl, lives with the family and participates in whatever pleasures or adversities the family may experience. This concept was once true of a majority of American farm laborers, and may still be characteristic in certain sections, but certainly is not so on the West Coast, and is probably not in many other areas.

Agriculture in the West is a commercial industry, even when operated on a family-farm basis, and in the West there are a large number of farm units which are not on a family-farm basis, and which are as commercial, heartless, and impersonal as urban industries ever were. Their interest is in the market. No personal relationship exists between the owner and the laborer for they have no common meeting ground. The worker has no long-time connection with the farm, the farmer, or the community. He moves in to work in the harvest today and takes again to the road tomorrow. There has never been a sharing of common abode or of common responsibilities to bind the owner and laborer. Even the small operator has little in common with the transient worker. Yet the philosophy of a self-sufficient, domestic, family-farm economy persists.

Farmers still tend strongly toward the philosophy that any man can get ahead by hard work and gumption. They got ahead that way and

believe that the other fellow if he wished could do likewise. They are not convinced that in modern society there may be forces much stronger than the individual which may be responsible for the individual's failure. The shift of social philosophy from placing responsibility for personal failure partly on society rather than on the individual is still an urban trait. In the farm community the notion of social responsibility has not yet dawned. The average farmer tends to think that the farm laborer is responsible for his own misery. If the worker asks for higher wages or strikes to get them, it is because he is a "lazy, good-for-nothing red," and not because he needs higher wages or is earning higher wages. Occasionally a farmer is sympathetic with labor, but too often he is the little man in a community where large operators tend to determine wage rates and labor policies.

I have been interested in the reactions of farm youth in my rural sociology classes who come from areas employing large amounts of seasonal labor. They frequently confess that it never before dawned on them that perhaps the farmer has some obligation to the laborer. They have apparently never given a thought to the possible relationship between the treatment the laborer receives at the farmer's hand and the way the laborer lives. These same youth have probably taken for granted that the industrial employer has a responsibility for the welfare of his urban workers.

Agricultural workers, probably more than any other large group of laborers, remain unprotected by social security, unemployment insurance, compensation laws, health insurance, wage-hour legislation, and other measures that have been established to protect the urban-industrial worker from exploitation and from the inherent hazards of his occupation. Farm wages are not standardized. The farmer hires and fires, unhindered by social restrictions. Obviously there is a lag in our thinking at this point which it will take some years to correct. Steps in improvement will probably have to come in this order: (1) The public as well as the farmer will have to become conscious of the fact that we are not dealing with patriarchal organizations practicing a domestic economy, but rather with a highly competitive commercial industry. (2) Only after this consciousness becomes widespread will the general public begin to demand that the agricultural worker receive at least some of the public consideration that urban-industrial workers are receiving.

At certain points urban-industrial patterns are affecting the farm labor

situation. There have been numerous attempts at labor organization, and there has been some use of the strike as a weapon in class warfare. The Associated Farmers, rapidly becoming a powerful group on the Coast, have as a major purpose the crushing of agricultural labor unions. A number of problems are involved and it is still to be demonstrated that the type of class struggle and unionization which has characterized urban industry is adaptable to problems of agricultural labor and whether agriculture or farm labor can afford the cost of class warfare. A more rational approach to the problem should be made.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SUCCESS OF A COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE AND THE FARM LABOR PROBLEM

The farm labor problem is in one sense closely identified with the agricultural market. Obviously in agricultural as in urban industry the worker cannot be carried if the industry itself is not self-supporting. Unfortunately, much of American agriculture periodically suffers reverses which have made it impossible for it to operate on a profitable basis. Greater security for agriculture probably will be essential to the fixing of greater responsibility on the employer. For this reason the present interest of the federal government in the stabilization of agriculture will ultimately affect the farm labor problem.

Obviously a profitable agriculture does not necessarily mean improved conditions among laborers. On the other hand it is hard to tie the agricultural industry down to specific responsibilities until it becomes sufficiently established to carry responsibility and survive.

The problem at this point is no different from that of urban industry, except that agriculture still maintains and probably always will maintain many of its noncorporate and individualistic vestiges, which mean a small capital margin for operation. It may therefore require greater security in order to meet the added costs of well-paid labor.

We have observed in Washington, and it may be true in all coast states, that the large farm enterprise handled on a corporation basis with large capital usually provides better camping or housing facilities, more conveniences, and safer living conditions generally than the small operator, some growers having gone to great expense to provide cabins, running water, electricity, and sanitary facilities for a large army of workers whom they need only one month to six weeks during the year. There is a suggestion here that a more secure agricultural policy would

tend toward a greater investment in living facilities for the seasonal laborer on the farm.

THE FARM LABORER IN THE WEST AS A SOCIAL TYPE

Farm laborers in the West are a heterogeneous lot racially, culturally, occupationally, maritally, and socially. We have much information about the mixed lot, but it is almost too conglomerate in character to allow for a description in general social or economic terms. The worker's economic status and his social outlook depend to a considerable extent upon the length of time he has been a farm laborer; whether he is in farm labor to stay or is just bridging a period of industrial unemployment, drought, or other natural catastrophe; whether he is a white man who has known a better way of life or a member of a racial group that has never experienced what the American considers the comfort level; whether he is one of the roving migrants who for many years have been divorced from all communities; or whether he stays in the same community and knows that he is of it even though he lives "beyond the tracks"; whether he is a part of a family group that travels in quest of work; or whether he is a footloose single worker who either never married, is divorced, or left home without the formalities of a divorce. To describe adequately a social and economic type of farm laborer is in some respects as difficult as to describe a Chicago type of industrial worker.⁵

The professional migratory farm laborer is caught in a vicious cycle from which there is no exit, if we are to take seriously certain studies of journalists and others who have followed his successive steps in degeneration in California. Steinbeck, in his booklet *Their Blood Is Strong*, describes the progressive stages in the degenerative process.⁶ Lowery gave to her vivid account the title "They Starve That We May Eat." Even during prosperous times in the areas we have studied the professional farm laborer lives near the margin of want. Often he arrives on the job without funds or food. If the grower has a potato patch which goes as a perquisite with the job, he lives on potatoes until he can earn some cash. In the hop camps the picker's sack is weighed in twice a day.

⁵ Five general types of farm laborers were described by Richard Wakefield and Paul H. Landis in the June, 1938, issue of *Rural Sociology*, pp. 133-44.

⁶ See especially Chapter II. This is published by the Simon J. Lubin Society of California, San Francisco, 1938.

⁷ Published by the Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1938.

He can cash the weight slip even though it amounts to only a few cents at any time during the day or evening in the larger camps.

The income of those who work at farm labor usually falls between \$200 and \$400 per year.⁸ The worker is employed less than six months of the year at all types of labor. His daily earnings, even when he is employed, are low as compared to those received by other unskilled workers. Most farms employing transients give very little in the way of perquisites. Sometimes fuel is furnished, sometimes a patch of potatoes is made available, and in some types of work housing is furnished, but except in these instances the laborer is chiefly on his own.

Most of the jobs on which he works are of very short duration; this means that he must shift constantly from job to job and from location to location, unless, of course, central camping facilities are provided.

Housing and sanitary conditions among farm laborers vary widely, but generally speaking their living conditions are far below the minimum standard for health and decency.⁹ The moral conditions in many of the locations where transient laborers gather are undesirable, making it difficult for parents who have ideals to see that they are passed on to their children. Child labor is found to some extent although children in most families who visit the Yakima Valley in Washington do not spend an appreciable amount of their time working during any season of the year.¹⁰ It seems probable that mobility rather than work interferes most with schooling. The yearly migration cycle of some of the workers covers a distance of not less than 3,000 miles.¹¹ Certain groups stick to a fairly regular migration cycle, but with many of them the cycle varies, changes probably depending upon such factors as rumors as to where work can be found, a desire for new experience, or the hope that an untried area may prove better than anything that has yet been found.

THE FARM LABOR PROBLEM AS A THREAT TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST

We have usually associated democracy with the West, and it has

⁸ Paul S. Taylor, "Synopsis of Survey of Migratory Labor Problems in California," Farm Security Administration (San Francisco, 1937); Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLV (August, 1937), 1-11.

⁹ See for example Carl F. Reuss, Paul H. Landis, and Richard Wakefield, "Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast," Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 363* (Pullman, 1938).

¹⁰ Paul H. Landis and Richard Wakefield, *The Annual Employment Cycle of the Farm Labor Household*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station (Pullman, July, 1938).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

often been pointed out that the frontier has kept alive the feeling of equality and individual freedom in America. That the farm laborer group on the West Coast is beginning to receive the stigma of an inferior caste is extremely unfortunate. (The drought immigrant does not share this status as yet, or at least not in Washington and Oregon where immigrants are ordinarily from the northern Great Plains and are considered superior workers.) Ordinarily we have not looked down on the farm laborer in America because working as a hired man has been considered the first step toward ownership. The traditional farm laborer of the old type worked for the family until he acquired machinery and work stock and then he became a tenant. From tenancy he often climbed to ownership.

A class does not acquire the stigma of inferiority so long as it is climbing upward. Not until it becomes fixed on a certain level does stratification begin. The earmarks of a stratified farm laborer group are becoming obvious on the West Coast.

There is a considerable army of workers on the West Coast; some estimates place the number as high as 150,000 to 200,000. Many of this number will always be farm laborers. They have entered a vicious cycle of migration, exploitation,¹² poverty, ill health, and general hopelessness. Already such terms as "pea picker," "hop picker," "fruit tramp," "automobile gypsy," and "migs" are beginning to be associated with inferiority. In many communities children of farm families and of

¹² The farm laborer not only is a victim of circumstances that seem inevitable under present cultural conditions on the West Coast, but sometimes is victimized by those who would deliberately exploit him. For instance, in many communities up and down the Coast the second-hand man makes a racket of the farm laborer's necessity. He sells him a piece of furniture, a mattress for instance, on a contract with the largest down payment he can obtain. When the worker comes in to make his last payment on the mattress the merchant sells him a bed spring and rewrites the contract to cover not only the bed spring but also the mattress which has already been practically paid for. When the laborer is able to complete payment on all of this he offers to sell him a bedstead, and so forth. The merchant knows that eventually he will be unable to pay and that in the end he can repossess everything he sold.

Another type of exploitation that is being carried on widely, especially among drought immigrants but also among any group that has sufficient cash to make a small down payment on a plot of land—a quarter acre, a half acre, or a larger tract—is practiced by the real estate agent. He sells the tract for whatever the purchaser can pay and collects on the remainder in small amounts monthly. In the meantime the tenant improves the place, perhaps by building a little shack. It is almost a certain bet that when the harvest season is over and the tenant can no longer obtain work the tract will revert to the agent in better condition than when the laborer bought it. The next spring when the farm labor season opens it can be resold—perhaps at a considerably higher price. More monthly payments are collected and again the farm is repossessed.

"respectable" families in adjoining towns and cities will not participate in the harvest as they once did because of this recognition of caste lines. Considered on this level the farm laborer on the West Coast is not only a problem because of his personal needs, but he is a problem in social democracy. It becomes a challenge to the entire economic and social structure of the Pacific Coast states to maintain their reputation for social equality and a high standard of living.¹⁸

AMELIORATIVE MEASURES IN THE SOCIAL INTERESTS OF THE FARM LABORER

Interest in the problems of the farm laborer in the West has been greatly stimulated by research, propaganda, and by the pressing social problems which the laborer has created in recent years for country and city alike. A number of state and federal groups are at the present time considering various aspects of the problem, discussing programs, and in some cases experimenting with ameliorative measures. Two programs of recent origin represent a social approach to the problem and something of an innovation from the old individualistic rural philosophy that every man should carry the burden of his own supposed thriftlessness and a community may shift responsibility for the fellow nobody wants. These programs have to do with improving living conditions and providing a system of socialized medicine for the workers.

The Farm Security Administration has taken the initiative in providing improved camping facilities at public expense. Several camps have already been established in California, and camps are now being planned for Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. These camps are to provide tent floors, paved streets, electric lighting facilities, commissaries, laundry space, water, sanitary sewage facilities, clinics, and bathing facilities.

The camps are self-governed, the camp members electing their own community councils. Although the camps are provided free by the government, ten cents per day rental is charged in some camps to be spent by the camp council as it sees fit, being expended for such items as play equipment, noon lunches for children, recreation programs for adults, and entertainments. In northern California the camps are open about

¹⁸ Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick (*op. cit.*, p. 36) observe that the "reader will undoubtedly be struck by the lack of relationship between heavy farm labor areas and other areas marked by one or more disadvantaging factors here presented." They suggest that in the West in agricultural areas with a high standard of living there are many migratory workers who do not share in this high standard of living.

six months of the year, and in Southern California, the year around. It is assumed that camps in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho will be open for about six months. The camps provide a labor recruiting station for farmers in the vicinity and a decent place for the workers to live while in the community. Some of the beneficial effects of the camps have been the control of epidemics by medical supervision and immunization; the restoration of self-respect to those, who through forced undesirable living conditions have lost it; cleanliness to increase this feeling of self-respect and make the adult a more acceptable member of the community and the migratory laborer's child a more acceptable member of the school. The camps have made it possible to keep in contact with the family and to see that the child of school age is in school. Although these camps now reach only a fraction of the farm laborers, many believe that a string of them up and down the Coast will be a very constructive influence.

Such camps are seldom established in a community without much local resistance, the farmers fearing that they will be used as recruiting centers by labor organizations. This argument has been prominent in the local controversy over a proposed camp in the Yakima Valley, Washington, which disturbed the community all the past summer. As long as the workers live in tourist camps or on the farmer's property the labor agitator can be forced to leave. In the Yakima Valley if he fails to leave on request a state patrol car picks him up and escorts him to the "bull pen." (An institution of some years' standing, covering about a half block in the center of the city of Yakima, the bull pen is a high board pen with barbed wires overhanging the top, which was built during a former strike and which is maintained by the county as an extension to the county jail.) California authorities say that cleanliness and decent living conditions increase contentment among the workers and that while labor organizers, like others who wish to enter camps to speak or solicit business, may do so by obtaining the consent of the self-governing council, there is no evidence that the camps have increased labor troubles.

Local communities also fear that a residue from the camps will spend the winter in the community, increasing relief costs and placing a heavy burden on local schools.

Some of these fears may not be entirely groundless. But it would seem logical to those viewing the problem from a greater distance and with a fuller degree of impartiality that agricultural communities de-

pendent upon migratory labor should be required to tolerate certain things that they may consider nuisances if these nuisances are in the interests of the health, efficiency, and well-being of the migratory worker and his child. A community that is primarily responsible for the existence of a migratory class probably should not always expect the other community to carry its burdens. There are many farm communities that would not agree with this interpretation and as long as this is true such ameliorative measures as the camp program will encounter their resistance.

There has been developed in California a socialized health program recently which is far-reaching in its effect. Under the initiative of the Farm Security Administration, working with the State Department of Public Health and the California Medical Association, an Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association was created under the state laws of California on March 3, 1938. The association was formed to render all kinds of medical aid, including special diets, drugs, hospitalization, laboratory service, and emergency dental work, to nonresident low income farm families—farm tenants, sharecroppers, farm laborers, and drought refugees—to whom the ordinary avenues of medical care were closed because of lack of money or legal restrictions.

State headquarters were established with an Executive Officer and a Board of Directors. A series of district offices was established in areas of concentrated labor and in cases where the peak demand is temporary, offices are set up and moved again to follow the harvest. Arrangements have been made with local physicians, drug stores, hospitals, and other medical agencies to provide services on a reduced fee basis and all accounts are chargeable to the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association.

It is reported that this service is doing a great deal to cure health defects, to promote health education, to increase maternity care, to improve the diets of children, and to help restore to a level of self-respect and efficiency a part of the army of transient agricultural workers that has been invading California.

It must be admitted that the transient camp program and the medical program are both but beginning steps in the right direction. But they are of peculiar significance because they represent a radical shift from the old individualistic approach to problems of the agricultural community toward a social attack upon a rural social problem of interstate character.

Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the South

*Harold Hoffsommer**

ABSTRACT

Farm labor in the South comprises four major groups: (1) unpaid family workers, (2) year-round workers, including sharecroppers, (3) seasonal workers, and (4) migratory workers. The Southeast as compared with the nation has proportionately more unpaid family workers, more hired laborers when sharecroppers are included, greater seasonal variation in demand due to the one-crop system and relatively few migratory laborers. The Southeast is also characterized by a dense agricultural population, a greater proportion of the gainfully employed in agriculture than elsewhere in the country, and a large amount of female agricultural labor. The historical background of labor in the Southeast and the fact that 40 per cent of the present agricultural laborers are Negro profoundly influences the whole structure of labor relations. The many problems involved are not subject to ready solution but must be comprehended in view of a planned agriculture, which should include labor as an integral part of the agricultural structure.

The term "farm labor" covers several different groups in the agricultural population. Although precise definition is impracticable, four groups emerge in the South as sufficiently distinguishable to warrant separate classification: (1) unpaid family workers, (2) year-round workers, including sharecroppers, (3) seasonal workers, and (4) migratory workers.

The first group, unpaid family workers, as has been pointed out by William T. Ham, constitutes an important phase of farm welfare, but has seldom been considered in connection with the labor problem.¹ For the United States as a whole, unpaid family workers constituted roughly one-third of all persons working on farms in 1935. In the South, this group is proportionately greater than elsewhere because of the fact that among the small tenants and croppers little labor is hired and a considerable amount of female labor is used. Thus the proportion

* Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, Louisiana State University.

¹ "The Status of Agricultural Labor," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Duke University Law School (Durham, October, 1937), p. 560.

² As referred to in this paper, the Southeast comprises the group of eleven states classified as such by Howard W. Odum in his recent work, *Southern Regions*. In general the paper deals with this area. These states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana.

of unpaid family labor to total labor runs upward from 40 per cent in all the states of the southeast² and reaches an extreme of approximately 50 per cent in Alabama, Mississippi following with 46 per cent.

Female unpaid family workers are restricted largely to the South and particularly to the southeast cotton states. Whereas in the United States as a whole, 27 per cent of the unpaid family workers are female, this percentage runs over 40 in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, the last showing more than 53 per cent, with the extreme concentration in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta area.*

The second major group of farm laborers consists of those hired either for the entire year or for a good share of it. The 1935 Census shows that 13 per cent of the total farm laborers comprise this group. Mainly because of the large amount of unpaid family labor, most of the southeastern states fall somewhat below the national average with respect to the relative number of hired laborers. Mississippi shows less than 6 per cent, and North Carolina and Alabama less than 10 per cent. On the other hand, Louisiana shows 15 per cent, which is apparently caused by the fact that cane sugar plantations are run mostly on a wage-hand rather than a sharecropper basis. In addition, a number of seasonal workers were probably included since the enumeration was taken as of the first week in January—a time which would include a part of the sugar cane harvesters. The same items doubtless account in part for the surprisingly large figure of 38 per cent of hired laborers in Florida.

The above enumeration of hired laborers does not include sharecroppers. Although conventionally classified in the Census as a type of tenant, the sharecropper is more closely related to the wage laborer than to the tenant in social, economic, and legal status. Moreover, the sharecropper of one year is likely to be the laborer of the next year or vice versa, and the shift occasions no fundamental change in the relation of the worker to his employer. In addition to this, the two categories are actually not separated even at a given time, since many of the so-called croppers work for wages during a part of the year. For example, in a

* See J. C. Folsom and O. E. Baker, "A Graphic Summary of Farm Labor and Population," U. S. D. A., *Miscellaneous Publication No. 265*, p. 7, for a striking graph of this situation. The authors comment, however, that "more than two million farm women in the North and West help take care of the poultry, cows, and gardens, but are not reported as engaged in agriculture."

recent labor survey in the Mississippi Delta of Louisiana,⁴ out of 152 male cotton pickers, 44 reported that they were croppers but working during the picking season for cash wages.⁵

Including then the sharecroppers as hired help, the Southeast in general shows a higher proportion of hired help to total farm labor than the United States as a whole. Compared with an average of 19 per cent for the United States, the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida all show more than 25 per cent, with Florida showing hired labor constituting more than 40 per cent of the total farm labor.

Concerning the third group, seasonal laborers, few Census data are available. It has been estimated that at least 50 per cent of the farm laborers of the country are seasonal workers.⁶ Special tabulations made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, showing the number of hired laborers in January as contrasted with the peak season, throw some light on the situation. For the United States as a whole, January is 60 per cent of the peak season; the West South Central states, 57 per cent; East South Central, 76; and South Atlantic, 78. This would indicate that with the exception of the West South Central states, the Southern states show less variation in employment during the year than the United States as a whole.⁷

This seasonal variation is considerably accentuated however when the comparison is made directly on the basis of the one-crop farming system which is largely characteristic of the South. For the past few years the tendency has been in the direction of concentrating an even greater percentage of the total working days of the year into the harvest period since the greatest mechanical improvements in cotton and sugar production have had to do with the growing, rather than the harvesting of

⁴ Tom Vasey and Josiah C. Folsom, *Survey of Agricultural Labor Conditions in Concordia Parish, Louisiana*, U. S. D. A. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics Co-operating (Washington, October, 1937), p. 6.

⁵ Not all laborers seen working in gangs on cotton plantations are receiving cash wages. It is customary on a number of the larger plantations for the sharecroppers to work together in a group, the entire group working on each cropper's field.

⁶ Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture," U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. VIII* (Washington, 1938), p. 36.

⁷ Julius T. Wendzel, "Distribution and Seasonability of Agricultural Employment," *The Agricultural Situation* (Washington, February, 1938), pp. 13-16.

these crops. The general result therefore of the mechanical improvements has been not only to lessen the total days of work available during the year, but at the same time to cause a more unequal distribution of those days. A recent study of twenty-seven large cotton plantations in Concordia Parish, Louisiana, shows that the average total of hired laborers fluctuated from six per plantation during the slackest season (January) to more than forty during the busiest season (September).⁸ Likewise, studies now under way in the cane sugar area of Louisiana show that on the larger cane farms the labor demand, as measured by the average number of laborers employed, is three times greater during November, the busiest month, than in July and August, the slackest months. From this it may readily be deduced that the cry of labor shortage, which is frequently heard but rarely investigated carefully, refers only to a peak period of the year, lasting but a few weeks at the most.

The fourth major group of farm laborers, the migratory workers, has been estimated to number from 200,000 to 350,000,⁹ although here again no satisfactory Census data are available. In comparison with the far West and certain sections in the Middle West the problem of migratory labor in the Southeast is relatively unimportant. For the most part, a sufficient labor supply is at hand. In fact, the number of laborers in many areas might be characterized as an oversupply since the available jobs during the course of a year do not provide sufficient income to maintain a standard of living comparable to that of laborers in many other sections. Nevertheless, these laborers usually travel little in search of other jobs. Their mobility is restricted largely to the local areas in which they were born and reared. Of 245 cotton pickers interviewed on representative plantations in the Delta section of Louisiana during the 1936 picking season, 74 per cent lived on the farms on which they were working, 4 per cent came from neighboring farms, and the remaining 22 per cent came from near-by towns and cities at an average distance of only nine miles.¹⁰ None of these workers was migratory in the sense in which

⁸ S. Earl Grigsby, *The Social and Economic Aspects of Negro Farm Labor on Large Cotton Plantations, Concordia Parish, Louisiana*, unpublished master's thesis, Louisiana State University (University, 1937).

⁹ Paul S. Taylor, "Migratory Labor in the U. S.," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLV (March, 1937), 10.

¹⁰ S. Earl Grigsby, *op. cit.*

the term is conventionally used. It is a well-known fact that some importation of labor has been and is being carried on in the cotton belt but in the absence of data the writer may be permitted to state as his impression that the number of such laborers is relatively few.¹¹

The sugar cane laborers in Louisiana show the same general absence of seasonal migrations. In a study covering 91 sugar farms relative to the residence of the seasonal laborers employed, 51 reported all of their laborers returning home daily. From most of the other plantations the laborers returned home only on weekends or at a letup in the work. Interviews with more than 300 cane harvest laborers living in the sugar area revealed that nearly two-thirds of them owned their houses, that the average distance lived from work was less than four miles and that less than 4 per cent lived twenty miles or more from their work. While these data cannot be regarded as conclusive, they indicate that for the most part the supply of sugar cane labor is secured from nearby. Since women as well as men cut cane, the supply of laborers is more flexible than it would otherwise be.

In the event of the general introduction of the mechanical cotton picker or the cane cutter, many are apprehensive lest seasonal migration of labor be unduly increased. Although such mechanical introduction would have serious implications for agricultural labor, it is not clear just how it would affect seasonal migration. The introduction of the combine in the wheat area seems to have had the effect of lessening rather than of increasing seasonal migration.¹² That further mechanization in the South would tend to increase permanent migration from these areas seems fairly evident. On the other hand, with the increasing difficulty of finding jobs elsewhere, particularly for the unskilled, the laborer is faced with a serious dilemma. To quote N. A. Tolles of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "The greatest potential source of future migration in the United States is to be found among the tenant farmers of the Cotton Belt. The thousands of tenants now to be found seeking

¹¹ During the present cotton picking season (1938), a group of about thirty-five Mexican laborers made up largely of blood relations, is working on a plantation in the parish in which this study was made. The plantation manager stated that while he had not solicited their labor, he allowed them to come when they requested it, since they had picked for him on several previous occasions. They work directly under their own boss and are paid by him.

¹² Sidney C. Sufrin, "Labor Organization in Agricultural America, 1930-1935," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (January, 1938), 545-46.

casual jobs in Florida may be only the forerunners of much greater numbers of both white and Negro migrants."¹³

It is of course possible that many of the displaced laborers would move to nearby villages and towns—a type of movement which has already occurred to some extent¹⁴ and which has swelled the relief rolls in these places. With increased industrial development more of these workers could secure jobs, but such development over the South as a whole seems rather remote, particularly if it is to be based on the unskilled labor of displaced farm workers. Instead however of moving to nearby villages and towns, there is some evidence that increasing numbers of these laborers are settling down on small self-sufficing farms in the same general localities in which they have been living. In such case they are in a position to satisfy the labor demand more or less locally with no considerable recourse to seasonal migration. At any rate, it is not clear that increased mechanization would result in any widespread seasonal migration, save possibly the movement from nearby centers to the surrounding countryside at such times as additional laborers are needed.

Having briefly characterized the types of agricultural labor it remains to point out several additional characteristics in which the farm labor population of the South differs from that in other sections: (1) In the first place, the greatest density of agricultural population in the U. S. is in the Southeast. Of all persons engaged in agriculture (1935), 42 per cent were in the Southeast. The delta areas of the Mississippi River in the states of Arkansas and Mississippi constitute the most densely settled agricultural area of the section. (2) From the labor standpoint the South is the most predominantly agricultural section of the United States. In the country as a whole, one-fifth of all persons gainfully employed were engaged in agriculture (1930) as compared with more than one-half in South Carolina, Mississippi and Arkansas. Mississippi leads the United States in this respect with two-thirds of her gainfully employed working in agriculture. Of the states falling into the upper

¹³ "A Survey of Labor Migration Between States," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLV (July, 1937), 12.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the residential distribution of agricultural workers in selected states as between urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm, see T. Lynn Smith, "The Agricultural Population: Realism vs. Nominalism in the Census of Agriculture," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XX (August, 1938), 679-87.

quartile in this regard, eight are in the Southeast. (3) Farm laborers are more numerous in the Southeast than in any other section. Likewise a larger percentage of these are unpaid family laborers than elsewhere. (4) Female agricultural labor is restricted largely to the Southeast. Three-fourths of all women employed in agriculture are in the cotton belt.

It is impossible however to comprehend the southern labor situation apart from the fact that approximately 40 per cent of the total agricultural laborers in the southeastern states are Negro.¹⁵ Although color is probably the most obvious factor to the casual observer, the ramifications of race as it influences the whole structure of southern labor are less obvious. Race, in fact, might easily be made the springboard for a discussion of all social and economic problems of southern agricultural labor. That is to say, the conditions as they now exist cannot be understood apart from their historic development in the pre-war plantation system. This has influenced the status of southern agricultural labor more than any other single factor. Not only have the colored laborers followed the pattern set by the pre-war system, but the impact of this system has engulfed the white laborers as well, particularly in those labor categories which are or have been predominantly Negro. As a consequence of this, the labor problems of the two races have more or less converged, and although the problems of the white and colored agricultural laborers are not identical they are similar in essential respects. From the employer's standpoint, the chief concern is that of getting a job done. He is interested in procuring some one to do it, regardless of color, who will fit into the social and economic pattern which he demands. Essentially the selection is made on the basis of the all-round desirability and efficiency of the worker. There is now under way in the Mississippi Delta section of Louisiana, a study concerning tenants, croppers, and laborers who have become separated from plantations within the past five years. It appears that a relatively greater proportion of the cases are whites, giving possible indication that plantation operators in this section in times of stress prefer to retain their colored rather than their white tenants and laborers.

¹⁵ The figure of 38.5 per cent is computed by combining the three Census categories of Unpaid Family Workers, Hired Help, and Croppers, 1935.

Prewar dependency of Negroes has come down to the present in the form of a general psychological dependence of the laborer upon his employer which has its most obvious representation in the customary advance and "furnish." This attitude of dependence is widely accepted by both employers and employees.¹⁶ Just following the Civil War the attempt was made to put the former slaves on a strict wage-labor basis, but the general practice was short-lived, because, as the Federal Commissioner of Agriculture reported in 1867, in the South the wage system "generally proved unprofitable, the freedmen being inclined to use too freely their new found liberty, and planters—quite as little at home in the management of free labor."¹⁷ With a minimum of cash on the part of both landlord and laborers, "the share tenant or sharecropper became the ultimate shock-absorber, going from year to year with little or no money and with his crop given as security or pledge in advance for his simple purchases."¹⁸ This situation persists to the present day with little modification, except for a growing feeling on the part of some of the labor leaders that they should break away from the traditional paternalism which involves perquisites and advances and bargain with their employers in a free and open market.¹⁹ It is impossible to know the extent to which this attitude is increasing among the rank and file of the laborers, although it would appear that such sentiment is developing.

A focal point in the furnishing system is that of the plantation commissary. It can be conducted either for or against the interests of the laborers. At its best it supplies goods at a lower price than would be available elsewhere. At its worst it charges high prices, forces the laborers to purchase through it and charges exorbitant interest rates. Examples of both kinds are abundant, with the majority falling somewhere between the extremes. Sharecroppers have been particularly associated with the abuses accredited to the commissary. The writer is in-

¹⁶ Harold Hoffsommer, "Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama," Division of Research Statistics and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration *Research Bulletin* No. 9 (Washington, November, 1935), pp. 1-7.

¹⁷ Quoted from H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938), p. 20.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ For the discussion of a sugar labor representative on this point, see "Public Hearing Held Pursuant to the Authority Contained in Section 301(b) of the Sugar Act of 1937, New Orleans, La., February 25, 1938," U. S. D. A. *Public No. 414*, Seventy-fifth Congress (Washington, 1938), mimeographed, pp. 17-18.

clined to believe that a part of this difficulty may arise from the fact that sharecropping is not a sound business arrangement for either the landlord or the laborer. As it is usually set up, either can take advantage of the other, though it would appear that of the two the landlord is subjected to a much greater temptation in view of the tradition of direction and authority of his own position and that of dependency and servility on the part of his laborers.

This personal relationship between the employer and his laborers is extremely difficult to penetrate by any means of formal control, partly because of resistance to any change in the status quo and also, in a large measure, because of the informal method by which the business transactions are carried on, particularly in the matters of perquisites and the so-called "taking care" of the workers.

For example, the Sugar Act of 1937 provides that planters wishing to secure the benefits of the control program must pay certain specified wages to their field laborers, the rates of these wages to be determined by the Secretary of Agriculture. In effect but one season, it is yet too early to evaluate the functioning of this program, but certain definite problems have already arisen incident to the wage determination hearings. A major difficulty arises from the fact that the money wages paid are only a part of the real wages which the laborer receives. Although the perquisites are supposed to remain the same regardless of a rise in money wages, the nature of these perquisites is such that the employer can rather readily shift them about so as to compensate for changes in the wage level. He may, for example, either "take care" of those who have become incapacitated in his service or he may not. Or in the matter of wages, he may pay the rate stipulated for the production of sugar but may pay a lower wage than has been customary for work in his corn, since sugar only is stipulated in the wage determination. A persistent complaint from small sugar producers has been that those who maintain commissaries, if they are so minded, can add sufficiently to the prices charged for their goods to compensate for the rise in wage level.

Although probably few planters would take advantage in such ways as those mentioned, the examples serve to illustrate the nature of dependence of the southern agricultural laborer on his employer. The whole system is obviously undergoing a change and is gradually mov-

ing away from the paternalism of the past. The adjustment to a greater freedom and self-management for labor should doubtless come rather slowly if the more painful aspects of the transition are to be avoided.

From what has been said above, it may readily be gathered that any accurate statement of real wages and income for the southern farm laborer is extremely difficult. For the most part the figures available exclude perquisites which, according to Department of Agriculture studies, account for slightly more than two-fifths of the average wage in the Southern states.²⁰ Statistical data notoriously show however that southern farm wages lag behind those of the average for the nation. Of the twelve states paying the lowest wages per day with board, as of July 1, 1937, eleven are in the Southeast. The highest in this group was Virginia with an average daily wage of \$1.05, and the lowest was South Carolina with an average wage of 60 cents. The average for the United States was \$1.34.²¹

In addition to a more careful study of perquisites it would appear that added emphasis in wage studies in the South must be placed upon the regularity of employment; that is to say, the number of days employed per year at a given wage. Furthermore, since the whole problem of wages is essentially incidental to the standard of living which the wage will maintain, it would seem that additional emphasis should be placed upon ascertaining just what a given wage will buy under the circumstances in question. This is admittedly a delicate phase of the southern problem.

Despite whatever justification may be advanced for the wage rates in the South the fact remains that the cash income of the southern farm laborer is low. Interviews with more than 150 male Negro laborers picking cotton in the Louisiana Delta (1936) revealed an average total cash income for the past year of \$178. This figure, it should be understood, includes income from all sources, including the labor of dependents. It is not without significance that, in the higher income brackets, a smaller proportion of the total came from farm labor. In other words, for these laborers agricultural work paid only a minimum income. If they se-

²⁰ J. C. Folsom, "Perquisites and Wages of Hired Farm Labor," *Monthly Labor Review*, XXIX (August, 1929), 418-22.

²¹ "Farm Wage Rates by States and Geographical Divisions, July 1, 1936 and 1937," *Crops and Markets*, XIV (July, 1937), 145.

cured more, it came from nonagricultural employment. Thus of the highest income group who earned an average of approximately \$500, an average of \$235 came from nonagricultural employment.

A study of sugar cane harvest laborers in Louisiana as of 1936 shows a slightly better yearly income than that indicated for the cotton laborers. On the basis of a sample of more than 300 laborers not living on plantations, the average income from all sources was \$240 for the year. This figure drops to slightly over \$150 however for the one-third of these laborers who do not own their houses. A sample of nearly 250 so-called resident laborers living on sugar farms shows an average income of slightly over \$290 per year. None of the figures herewith presented includes perquisites.

The above wage figures, in and of themselves, obviously do not give an adequate picture of southern agricultural labor. Space prohibits further elaboration, but in the main it must be clear that no very high standard of living can be maintained on this level of income.

In conclusion it must be admitted in all frankness that the problems facing southern agricultural laborers at this time are serious and that the method of their solution is by no means obvious. They involve the entire structure of southern agriculture and must be viewed as a part of the agricultural situation as a whole. Planning in agriculture must now be generally accepted—and this planning should be extended to include labor. The beginnings of this for the South may be seen in the recently stipulated wage rates for sugar cane field laborers. In the matter of promoting their own cause, farm laborers in the South, as well as elsewhere, have been notoriously weak. As pointed out by J. F. Duncan, Industrial Federation of Landworkers, Scotland, agricultural workers have always been looking for escape out of agriculture, rather than organization within it.²² However, with outside possibilities for employment increasingly cut off, it is probable that the group may gain somewhat in *esprit de corps*.

The value of farm labor organization has been questioned on the grounds that such organization, in holding out for higher wages, would accentuate the introduction of labor saving machinery, thus throwing

²² Remarks on Farm Labour and Social Standards made at McDonald College, Quebec, Canada, at the Fifth International Conference of Agricultural Economists.

many laborers out of work entirely. Although, in the main, farm operators will tend to produce in the cheapest and most efficient way, whether by hand labor or machines, it is not entirely clear that a reasonable advance in wage rates, particularly for the lower paid laborers, would result in its being profitable at this time for the employer to replace men by machines. Also other items than labor enter into the picture. A recent study²⁸ of mechanization on 138 cotton farms in the Delta area of Louisiana concludes that "apparently the greatest pressure [for mechanization] arose first from the cost of mule power with labor secondary." But apart from these considerations, farm labor would be remiss in its obligation to the general welfare, if for any reason it should fail to represent its situation as an integral part of the agricultural structure. The chief aim of such representation should be, as the writer sees it, not to form powerful labor unions with the intent of coercing employers into better wages and conditions of work but rather to be able to present the problems of labor orderly and effectively to the end that in the plans laid for agriculture, the laborers as the basic human factor may be given the consideration which they deserve.

²⁸ R. J. Saville, "Influence of Tractors upon Mule and Man Labor Needs in Farming in the Cotton Delta Area," unpublished paper read before the Louisiana Farmers' and Farm Women's Short Course Program, Baton Rouge, August 9, 1938.

Notes

THE ENUMERATOR AND THE FARM OPERATOR PLACE A VALUE ON THE FARM DWELLING

In securing primary data of a rural sociological or agricultural economic nature based upon personal interview there are often two methods of approach. One is for the enumerator to make the appraisal; the other is to take the value as given by the operator himself. Depending upon the use to which the data are to be put, either of the methods may be the more desirable. However, in a general analysis the more accurate of the two methods should usually be the one employed.

It is recognized that there are a number of items in the usual survey that people tend to estimate incorrectly. The Bureau of the Census recognizes this fact and makes use of it in arriving at certain estimates. Whether the bias is conscious or unconscious on the part of the informant it is necessary that it be recognized and dealt with accordingly, or misleading conclusions will result. In the securing of social data there may be certain items that will carry bias when given by the informants. When these items are determined, as well as the degree of the bias, much more accurate results in the analysis of social data will be possible.

In a recent study in the tobacco section of southern Maryland an opportunity presented itself to test on a small scale the difference in the results secured by the two methods. James W. Coddington, State Land Use Planning Specialist for Maryland, had made a study in the land use of this area and in the appraisal of the farm buildings had secured a value of the dwellings. This value was what the enumerators estimated the houses to be worth. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, made a follow-up on this study gathering additional sociological and cultural data in which the operators themselves were asked to give what they thought the buildings were worth. The results of the two appraisals are given in Tables 1 and 2. It may be seen that with the total 113 families reporting, the average value of the houses as estimated by the operators was approximately twice the average value estimated by the enumerators. In 55 per cent of the cases the estimate of the operator was more than twice the amount given by the enumerator.

What the reasons for these wide variations are, is largely a matter of conjecture. Mr. Coddington is of the opinion that the figures secured by his enumerators represent very closely the actual value of the houses. Most of his enumerators had been appraisers for the Federal Land Bank prior to this survey and as a result were very "value conscious" at the time the survey was made. This previous experience with the Land Bank undoubtedly influenced the perspective of the enumerators and accounts in some measure for the differences existing between the two estimates. Granting that the estimates of the enumerators were

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO ASSIGNED VALUES TO THEIR DWELLINGS A CERTAIN NUMBER OF TIMES IN EXCESS TO THAT ASSIGNED BY THE ENUMERATOR

ITEM	Number of cases	Operators who value their dwellings					
		Less than enumerator	Same as enumerator	Number of items as much			
				1.1 - 1.9	2 - 2.9	3 - 3.9	4 and over
All families.....	113	8.8	14.2	22.1	24.0	14.2	16.7
Owners.....	63	4.8	17.5	19.0	30.2	14.3	14.2
Tenants.....	50	14.0	10.0	26.0	16.0	14.0	20.0

TABLE 2

AVERAGE VALUE OF HOUSES AS ESTIMATED BY ENUMERATORS AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE DIFFERENT TENURE GROUPS OF OPERATORS

ITEM	Number of cases	Value as estimated by enumerators	Value as estimated by operators
All families.....	113	\$1,231	\$2,314
Owners.....	63	1,531	2,814
Tenants.....	50	854	1,684

low, nevertheless it is a good illustration of the fact that the farmer, if he is honest or sure the interviewer is not a tax assessor, in trying to give the value of his possessions may be giving a figure that represents what the particular possession may be worth to him rather than what it would be worth to someone actually in the market for the particular item.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
United States Department of Agriculture

OLEN LEONARD

A COUNTY EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL PLANNING

Of interest to students of rural life is the work of the Greenville (South Carolina) County Council for Community Development. The five-year project is financed jointly by a national foundation and Furman University. A council composed of some ninety citizens from the city and rural communities guides the work of general improvement of life in the county. Assistance in research and planning is provided by a staff of ten specialists trained in the fields of education, arts and crafts, social welfare, rural sociology, health, economics, government, recreation, drama, and music.

The approach followed in rural communities is of special interest. Through a gradual process of citizen awakening, there are revealed possibilities inherent in co-ordination of the various forces operating in the community. After a number of discussion meetings and some study, the idea often comes from the group that more information about the community is needed. As a result, a general survey is made or specific problems of the community are studied. The next step has invariably been for a local community council of citizens to be formed. Objectives and activities are outlined for the next year or two. A member of the County Council staff is identified with the community council and gives advice and some technical assistance, as do other members of the staff. To date, five such community organizations have been formed by the citizens.

Research activities of the staff working with citizens have covered a wide scope, including studies of educational retardation of children, the condition of Negro school buildings, Negro urban housing, various phases of Negro life, crime, social welfare agencies, health agencies, recreational facilities and needs, social welfare and health expenditures, and the like. But what is more important, citizens are taking the facts obtained from these studies and are planning remedial measures. The whole project rests on the assumption that citizen participation in study, discussion, and planning is essential in any permanent steps toward community betterment. It is an attempt to make democracy work in the local community where the real meaning of democracy too often has been forgotten.

Furman University

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

THEODORE B. MANNY

The untimely death of Dr. Theodore B. Manny, September 26, came as a swift stroke of misfortune to his many professional friends over the United States. It seems just incredible that that intensely vital countenance was finally stilled. There is no doubt that the first reaction from the news among his associates and co-workers was great sympathy for his wife and children; the next, a feeling of personal loss and a sense of vacancy in the ranks of sociologists—especially of rural sociologists.

It must not, however, be overlooked that Theodore Manny's life was one of loyalty first of all to religion, to church, and to human welfare. Social science was only one outlet for an abounding psychic energy. In many other circles of endeavor will be found his vacant chair.

To those of us who worked side by side with Manny in the general field of agriculture and rural life, comes the memory of scene after scene, occasion after occasion—struggles to think out, to discover ways and means of understanding and advantaging rural society. These memories of the search with Manny for better and better things will now stand apart among our cherished possessions.

Some of the milestones in Dr. Manny's career follows: Born in Chicago, Illinois, March 12, 1897; graduated from a Chicago high school, 1915; B.S. in general agriculture, majoring in farm management, University of Illinois, 1918; in the U. S. Army, 1918-19; assistant manager of field work on a large farm at

Wheaton, Illinois, December, 1919, to February, 1921; research assistant in rural sociology with Dr. J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, February, 1921, to July, 1923; M.S., University of Wisconsin, 1922; marriage to Miss Elsie B. Sherman, August 20, 1923; teaching and research, rural life, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, 1923 to 1927; senior agricultural economist in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Department of Agriculture from October, 1927 to October, 1935, and acting head of the Division from July, 1934 to October, 1935; Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1929; Century Rural Life Series, *Rural Municipalities*, 1930; professor of sociology, University of Maryland from October, 1935.

Dr. Manny's training at the University of Wisconsin in sociology under Ross and Kolb, in psychology and political science, gave him the implements for research into the psychic aspects of rural problems. In the U. S. Department of Agriculture, his research product in this field was notable, gaining the respect of the whole Department, as well as of the state universities and farm organizations of the states. His energy, social discernment, and eminent fairness of temper won him friends everywhere, even in the most trying social situations. It was no surprise to his fellow workers that the University of Maryland selected Dr. Manny as their sociologist, responsible for teaching and research in general and rural sociology. His work at the University of Maryland has been marked by the same humane scholarly qualities that he displayed in the special field of Government research. His short career has truly been one of brimming service, intelligent, always kindly, cheery, almost gay.

CHARLES J. GALPIN

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

INCOMES AND LEVELS OF LIVING

According to a National Resources Committee Study, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*,¹ the annual income of the average farm family for the fiscal year 1935-36 was \$1,259 as compared with \$1,289 for wage-earning families, about \$4,200 for families of the salaried business group, and about \$6,700 for the families of the independent professional group. The average (mean) farm-family income was \$1,259 as compared with \$2,704 for the metropolis.

Only 27 per cent of the nonrelief farm families had incomes as high as \$1,450, whereas nonrelief families in the professional group, in the business and clerical group and in the wage-earning group, about 80, 63, and 35 per cent respectively had incomes as high \$1,450 and are in the upper one-third for the nation. Income includes "the total net money incomes received during the year by all members of the economic family . . . plus the money value of the occupancy of owned homes and of rent received as pay and—for rural families—of home-grown food and other farm products used by the family."

The study is based primarily upon income data from field interviews with 274,000 families made in a nationwide study of consumer purchases. Incomes of Negro and white families, of families in different regions, and of families of four sizes are given, as well as incomes of individuals living within and outside institutions.

"Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project"² might be called a study in contrasts. On the one hand is depicted the level of living in a typical Indian-Mexican village of farm laborers whose material level of living is probably the lowest ever reported for rural America. Moreover, "the traditional non-material culture of the Indian-Mexican farm laborer in the valley of the Rio Grande is as frayed as his ragged clothes." On the other hand the level of living of a group of well-to-do farmers on the Klamath Falls Irrigation Project in eastern Oregon and California is described as being characterized by high urban nonmaterial standards and the absence of typical rural non-material cultural traits. The total value of living of all goods and services consumed by the families of the first group was \$347, 55 per cent of which was expended for food; that of the second group was \$2,843, 30 per cent of which

¹ *Consumer Incomes in the United States—Their Distribution in 1935-36*, Report of the National Resources Committee, Washington, 1938 (pp. 103).

² C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard, "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. XIV*, Washington, August, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 49).

was for food. Adding to this disparity is the fact that the average household of the first group had 5.5 full-time residents as compared with 4.4 in the second. In the first group there were 18 families having total values of living ranging from \$100 to \$300. Their households averaged 4.4 full-time residents who allocated 60 per cent of their incomes for food.

"Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area"³ portrays the material living conditions of 850 open-country and 122 village families living in ten counties of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan during 1935. For the open country families the total value of all goods and services consumed for family-living purposes was \$1,031, 60 per cent of which was purchased. For the village families these figures were \$851 and 89 per cent respectively. The study indicates a back-to-farming movement between 1930 and 1935, and presents data relative to geographical mobility, educational status, reading material in the homes, and other items and categories which constitute the level of living of the families in the two groups.

"A Summary of Nebraska Home Account Records, 1929-38"⁴ includes an analysis of 254 farm and 68 town family account books from forty-eight counties. Four of these families had kept records for nine consecutive years, others for shorter periods. The average total value of living for the farm families in 1927 was \$1,105; for the town families, \$1,627. Food represented 36 and 22 per cent of the total value for the farm and town families respectively. They were composed of 3.8 and 3.4 persons respectively.

During nine years the account books of 832 families have been summarized. These are analyzed by family size, and expenditures have been allocated to the customary family-living categories for the six years from 1932 to 1938. At present 1,016 records are being kept in the state.

A "Study of Rural Housing"⁵ is based upon an analysis of 214 new farm houses scattered throughout Arkansas. The median expenditure involved in construction was \$500. About one-third of the homes cost less than \$250 each. The average size was 4.68 rooms per house with an average occupancy of 3.8 persons per house. There was a positive correlation between rooms per house and persons per family (+.30) and between annual income and expenditure for housing (+.33). The house expenditures averaged \$45 less than annual income, and home contribution of labor amounted to 75 per cent of the total value of labor entering construction. "The cubic foot costs for the best typical rural homes with plumbing, and good materials throughout will range from 14 to 18 cents. From 10 to 12 cents per cubic foot will cover the costs for houses of the average qualities represented by the study."

³ C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., "Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area," U. S. D. A. *Social Research Report No. XIII*, Washington, September, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 63).

⁴ Muriel Smith and Clara M. Newlee, "Summary of Nebraska Home Account Records, 1929-38," University of Nebraska Agricultural Extension Service and U. S. D. A. co-operating, *Extension Circular No. 11-116*, Lincoln, May, 1938 (pp. 16).

⁵ Deane G. Carter, "Study of Rural Housing," *Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 364*, Fayetteville, June, 1938 (pp. 31).

RURAL YOUTH

"Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age"⁶ is the title of an Arkansas Extension Service Publication based upon field interviews made during 1936 with 223 rural youth in a block-sample area in the delta land and an area in the foothills of the Ozark Mountains. Through this study, as in the case of six others conducted in Connecticut,⁷ Iowa,⁸ Maryland,⁹ Oregon,¹⁰ South Carolina,¹¹ and Utah,¹² the Extension Service hoped to orient its program for the young people in the "in-between" period after they leave 4-H Club work and the school and before they find places in the adult activities of the communities. The findings of the Arkansas study were in most respects similar to those in the other states.

Only 12 per cent of the out-of-school unmarried rural youth were members of an Extension Service organization. It is claimed that young people need such organizations because 79 per cent of the out-of-school young people had no organization affiliations other than those with the church and church organization; 90 per cent said they would like to join others of a similar age in forming a group to consider matters of common interest, 75 per cent of the out-of-school young men indicated "farmer" as their first choice of occupation, and 69 per cent of the out-of-school young women indicated "homemaker" as their first occupational choice.

In all of the studies the youth reported that among important problems in their lives were learning how to "earn additional money," "get started in a chosen vocation," or "get additional education." However, no one can read the reports without the feeling that the thing uppermost in the minds of these youths is a yearning for association with others of their own age. Problems mentioned most frequently as being of greatest importance in their lives were learning "to know

* J. V. Highfill and Barnard D. Joy, "Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age," University of Arkansas College of Agriculture and U. S. D. A. co-operating, *Extension Circular No. 417*, Fayetteville, June, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 33).

⁷ A. J. Brundage and M. C. Wilson, "Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Young People, 16-25 Years of Age," U. S. D. A. *Extension Service Circular No. 417*, Washington, April, 1936 (mimeographed, pp. 47).

⁸ Not yet published.

⁹ Barnard D. Joy and T. B. Manny, "Situations, Problems and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age," Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, *Extension Service Circular No. 269*, Washington, August, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 31).

¹⁰ Barnard D. Joy and J. R. Beck, "Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age," Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, *Extension Circular No. 277*, Washington, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 41).

¹¹ Not yet published.

¹² Barnard D. Joy and D. P. Murray, "Situations, Problems and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age: Utah," Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, *Extension Service Circular No. 282*, Washington, January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 37).

more young people," "to develop more attractive personalities," "to find opportunities for recreation and social life," "to get along with people," and the like. Even a large number of those whose chief problem is wishing "to earn additional money" give as their reason "to buy good clothes." This also bears out the above contention that youth are seeking association with their fellows because most budgetary studies indicate that farm people spend most for clothes during the so-called "courting period." Many other youths, especially the women, stated that they wanted more money "for more recreational or social life" or "to establish a home" of their own.

In the Arkansas areas studied, "a typical young person attended church three times a month, Sunday school twice, saw one movie, one athletic contest, went to one party, picnic, or dance, and participated in one pleasure ride by automobile. During the summer months he went swimming."

Since 1930 over 100 research projects relating to rural youth have been conducted according to a report *Status of Research Pertaining to Situations and Problems Among Rural Young People*.¹³ The report indicates the types of research needed to guide the youth program. *Recent Surveys Pertaining to Rural Youth*¹⁴ is a bibliography prepared to supplement the publications, *Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts* and *American Youth: An Annotated Bibliography*.¹⁵ Abstracts of findings from published and unpublished projects are included.

*Agricultural Extension Work With Older Rural Youth*¹⁶ describes existing extension organizations, their members, and their program activities, and discusses further needs and possibilities.

A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas,¹⁷ a report by the American Youth Commission, "presents a study of programs of coordinating agencies dealing with problems of the care and education of youth, includes a summary of responses to personal interviews with 4,608 youth between sixteen and twenty-four years of age, and offers specific recommendations for meeting the needs of the youth population of the city."

¹³ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Status of Research Pertaining to Situations and Problems Among Rural Young People*, American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Washington, September 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 12).

¹⁴ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Recent Surveys Pertaining to Rural Youth*, American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Washington, Sept. 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 18).

¹⁵ D. L. Harley, *Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts*, American Youth Commission, Washington, September, 1937 (pp. 44-54).

Louise Arnold Menefee and M. M. Chambers, *American Youth: An Annotated Bibliography*, American Youth Commission, Washington, 1938 (pp. 397-403).

¹⁶ Agnes M. Boynton and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Agricultural Extension Work with Older Rural Youth*, American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Washington, October 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 32).

¹⁷ Jack Robertson, *A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas*, A Report to The American Youth Commission of The American Council on Education, Washington, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 224).

RURAL RELIEF AND DEPENDENCY

"The Rural Almshouse Population in Missouri"¹⁸ is a study based upon a 1933 survey of ninety-four and a 1935 survey of ninety-six rural almshouses. The various types of almshouse administration and methods of inmate care are defined and described, together with the social characteristics of the inmate population.

"As a matter of considerable contemporary interest an analysis was made of the eligibility of inmates for old age assistance in order to determine the extent to which counties might be relieved of their inmate population through this type of public assistance. Examination of data on nearly 3,000 inmates indicated that more than one-half (52.4 per cent) were under seventy years of age, which is the present minimum age limit for old age assistance. It was further determined that at least one-half of the ones eligible due to age were not likely to be approved for old age assistance since they were either physically or mentally disabled. It was concluded that less than one-fourth of the total inmate population might qualify for old age assistance and that additional provisions would be necessary if the rural counties are to be relieved of the care of their almshouse population."

A study of "Social and Economic Circumstances of Accepted Applicants for Old-Age Assistance in South Dakota, 1936-37"¹⁹ reports that over one-third of all persons sixty-five years of age are receiving this type of assistance in South Dakota as compared with 21 per cent for the nation as a whole. This is higher than for all the surrounding states except Montana. The study, which is based upon the applications of 15,397 aged individuals who were approved to receive old-age assistance, further reveals that one-fifth of the aged persons in South Dakota who received old-age assistance lived alone; over one-half had listed no holdings of real estate; 96 per cent had no bank or savings accounts; 99 per cent had been without life insurance; and only 22 per cent of open-country, and 46 per cent of village males, had incomes of \$300 and over.

From "A Social and Economic Study of Relief Families in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, 1934,"²⁰ it was found that in December, 1934, approximately one-half of the county's population was depending on the Emergency Relief Administration for a major portion of its living. By type of residence this relief load ranged from 64 per cent of persons in the open country to 35 per cent of those residing in cities. Ottawa County, representing one of the state's distress areas, was over-

¹⁸ C. T. Pihlblad, Arthur W. Nebel, *et al.*, "The Rural Almshouse Population in Missouri," Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri; The Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Federal Works Progress Administration; and the State Social Security Commission of Missouri co-operating, *Research Bulletin No. 3*, June, 1938 (multilithed, pp. 40).

¹⁹ John P. Johansen, "Social and Economic Circumstances of Accepted Applicants for Old-Age Assistance in South Dakota, 1936-37," South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station and South Dakota Works Progress Administration *Bulletin* 323, Mitchell, June, 1938 (pp. 55).

²⁰ Robert T. McMillan, "A Social and Economic Study of Relief Families in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, 1934," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station *Technical Bulletin No. 2*, Stillwater, July, 1938 (pp. 58).

populated by the World War and postwar boom in lead and zinc mining. Almost half of the 1,511 relief households surveyed gave unemployment as the cause of their dependency. Farmers on relief were poorly equipped in land, livestock, and machinery. Old-age disabilities and limited formal education, coupled with other social weaknesses, indicated the futility of expecting many of the families to become self-supporting.

FARM LABOR

*Migration of Workers*²¹ is the title of the most complete compendium of existing information concerning the general problem of migratory labor known to the reviewer. Special sections are devoted to the relocation of drought refugees and displaced tenants, seasonal migration in agriculture, and social problems of migrants. Special studies included are "Conditions of Migrants in Areas Studied in 1936," which deals with housing, medical service and health protection, education of the children, community attitudes, and migration; and "Conditions Among Sugar Beet Laborer's Families, 1935," which was based upon data from interviews with 946 families in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana sugar-beet areas. Included in the report is a 46-page selected reference list.

Among the findings recorded in the general report are the following:

1. Nearly two-thirds of the sugar-beet laborers' families studied, most of whom were of Mexican, Spanish-American, or Russian-German stock, were dependent upon relief funds. Nearly one-third of the migratory families earned less than \$200 a year from the beet work of the entire family.
2. Drought in the Great Plains, coming after years of depression, has forced more than 200,000 persons to migrate to other states. Further migration from these areas is to be expected. Half a million persons are still dependent on Federal grants for their existence in the drought states.
3. More than four-fifths of the recent migration of workers to California consisted of persons from states afflicted by drought. More than half of these migrants came from the drought states of the Great Plains, where emigration will still be desirable even after the present drought comes to an end. Most of the drought migrants in California have been forced to become constant, seasonal migrants without residence in any one community.
4. The disintegration of tenancy in the cotton region of the Southeast has already forced thousands of former tenants to seek casual employment in Florida and elsewhere. Technical developments will continue to dislodge increasing numbers.
5. Since the liquidation of the Federal Transient Program, relief for migrants has been sharply restricted. Such relief as is available has been generally limited to families with young children, unattached women, the sick and

²¹ "Migration of Workers," Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor, Pursuant to S. Res. 298, A Resolution to Make Certain Investigations Concerning the Social and Economic Needs of Laborers Migrating Across State Lines, 75th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 204).

the aged. The attempts of both public and private relief agencies to discourage migrants from applying for assistance makes it impossible even to know how many are in need.

A study of "Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry"²² presents data relative to labor conditions, permanence of residence and mobility, community participation, income, financial resources, ways of hearing of and obtaining work, age, usual occupation, and educational and marital status as reported by 215 single persons and 238 family heads who were interviewed while engaged in picking hops during the 1937 harvest season in the Yakima Valley. The facilities and living conditions in the camps for hop laborers are described.

Over half of the single workers and almost half of the families had lived in more than one place during the year preceding the interview. Thirty-one per cent claimed permanent residence in the west central and the mountain states; 13 per cent, in California or Oregon; one-sixth, in the Yakima Valley; and most of the remainder, in other parts of Washington. Only about one-fourth of the heads of families considered agricultural work their usual occupation. Forty per cent of the families and 12.5 per cent of the single persons had received relief during the preceding year. Low wages, low financial reserves, lack of community social participation, and high mobility characterize the great mass of laborers called to the valley for the hop-picking season. Such transient labor, which tends to destroy community integration and morals, may be avoided by (a) the more widespread use of resident labor for the harvest, (b) an increase in the number of resident workers through a system of part-time industries, and (c) perfection of a mechanical hop picker.

*The Annual Employment Cycle of the Farm Labor Household*²³ is a graphic description of the proportion of time 345 farm laborers interviewed in the Yakima Valley were unemployed, and the proportion of time they were engaged in agricultural and nonagricultural work monthly, both in the valley and out during the year beginning July 28, 1935, and ending July 25, 1936. Separate charts are included for (1) transient family heads and single workers, (2) transient women and children workers, (3) resident family heads and single workers, and (4) resident family workers. Among the significant findings are the following:

1. During the busiest season less than 75 per cent of the Yakima Valley transient laborer's time is spent working.
2. During the autumn, winter, and spring months from 40 to 90 per cent of his time is spent without work.
3. Except for summer and fall months, when agricultural employment predominates, transient women and children spend very little time working for wages.

²² Carl F. Reuss, Paul H. Landis, and Richard Wakefield, "Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast," Washington Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin* No. 363, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor No. 3, Pullman, August, 1938 (pp. 63).

²³ Paul H. Landis and Richard Wakefield, *The Annual Employment Cycle of the Farm Labor Household*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor No. 2, Pullman, July, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 24).

4. There is a relatively high demand for nonagricultural work in September and October when the requests for hop and apple pickers are at their height. This fact makes the solution of the transient-labor problem difficult, since it precludes the possibility of dovetailing seasonal agricultural and nonagricultural employment in order to reduce transiency.
5. The average daily wage for all work done by resident family heads and single workers was \$2.27 per day.
6. The average wage for the total group was \$1.82 for agricultural employment, as compared with \$2.51 for nonagricultural employment. "It is likely that this differential will place poorer workmen in agricultural jobs."

*Agricultural Labor in the Pacific Coast States*²⁴ is a Social Science Research Council monograph containing a classified bibliography of recent and current studies and an "outline of phases of study which seem to be needing early consideration and stimulation." By way of introduction the report stresses the importance of the problem at hand, indicating that in California, Oregon, and Washington paid agricultural workers (excluding family workers) constituted 56, 33, and 33 per cent respectively of all gainful workers in agriculture. According to estimates, some 22,167 families from other states entered California in autos in 1937 seeking manual employment. Over three-fourths of these came from drought states. It is further estimated that from 3,000 to 5,000 farm families came into Washington and into Oregon during each of the years 1936 and 1937.

"Hired Labor Requirements on Arizona Irrigated Farms"²⁵ have been ascertained from estimates based on field survey information gathered from 674 farm operators in the five principal irrigated areas in the state. For 1935, the year covered in the survey, less than one-third of the total man-days of hired labor was hired by the month or by the year, while the remainder was seasonal. For both 1936 and 1937, rates of pay and labor requirements especially for seasonal labor increased. Hired labor costs for these years increased in a much greater proportion than cash farm income.

The farther west the area, the higher were the rates of pay. "Apparently proximity to California's highly developed irrigated areas tended to raise wage rates." Also "increased rates of pay have been largely due to favorable commodity prices, to competing rates in non-agricultural employment, and to rates in government employment."

*They Starve That We May Eat*²⁶ is introduced by the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, as follows: "In this volume the Council of Women for Home Missions presents a picture of one of the most disadvantaged groups in the nation

²⁴ *Agricultural Labor in the Pacific Coast States*, Subcommittee on Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the West, Pacific Coast Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council, New York, August, 1938 (pp. 64).

²⁵ E. D. Tetreau, "Hired Labor Requirements on Arizona Irrigated Farms," Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with Works Progress Administration and the Resettlement Administration, *Bulletin No. 160*, Tucson, May, 1938 (pp. 217).

²⁶ Edith E. Lowry, *They Starve that We May Eat*, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1938 (pp. 72).

—the migratory agricultural workers. If we have smug and complacent attitudes toward rural America they are likely to be extinguished by exposure to the problems of this disadvantaged group." Included are photographs and descriptions of working and living conditions of migrants. Various solutions to the problem are suggested and an inventory of what various agencies are already doing toward its solution is recounted. "The solution will not be found in more 'bum blockades.' Attitudes must change. This is basic. The migrants are not a different breed, but normal human beings with all the heartaches, the discouragements, and the longings that would be ours were we migrant workers. It is sad that men, women, and children have come to be considered as incidental in the production of fruits and vegetables."

FORESTRY AND PART-TIME FARMING

Forests and Employment in Germany,²⁷ a United States Department of Agriculture bulletin, contrasts conditions in forest work in Germany with conditions which have existed in North America. In the latter, the work has been of a transitory nature, with forest areas without good agricultural land developing rapidly and declining as rapidly when the timber was depleted; in the former, "forests managed on a sustained-yield basis have constituted a major source of livelihood for permanent communities through many generations." The number of people employed in producing, tending, and harvesting the forest crop and in processing forest products in Germany is surprisingly large, judged by American standards. The reasons for this condition are: intensive forest management and utilization, the prevalence of hand work, and the fact that the majority of forest workers are employed in the woods only part of the year. Most of the men workers spend the rest of the year working on their farms or in local industries, and in normal times, relatively few of the workers are transient laborers.

Woods work constitutes an excellent part-time occupation for farmers because the period of greatest activity in most forests is winter and early spring, when farm work is slack. It is also considered socially desirable, since permanent workers living in their own homes and making their living partly from the forest and partly from their farms are likely to take a keen interest in maintaining the productivity of the forest. It is also considered by the Germans socially desirable to operate forest industries in small local units rather than to concentrate them for large-scale mass production, even though greater economic efficiency might thus be attained.

"Part-Time Farming in Six Industrial Areas in Pennsylvania"²⁸ "increases the family income and it furnished, for many people, a more satisfactory way of living." The average income from the 887 farms studied by field interview in 1936 was \$189 per farm. Approximately "one-half of this amount came from supplying home-grown products to the family table." The average return of labor

²⁷ W. N. Sparhawk, *Forests and Employment in Germany*, U. S. D. A. Forest Service, Washington, July, 1938 (pp. 52).

²⁸ M. E. John, "Part-Time Farming in Six Industrial Areas in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania State College Bulletin No. 361*, State College, May, 1938 (pp. 49).

spent on farms studied was only 12.7 cents an hour as compared with 45 cents an hour for time spent in industry. The families in that phase of the family life cycle (with operators thirty-five to forty-four years of age) having the largest number of children available for work made the greatest income from part-time farming. School grades completed by the operator were correlated positively with hourly earnings from farming.

Sixty-three per cent of the farmers offered no adverse criticism of part-time farming. The three major objections named by disappointed operators were high cost and lack of conveniences, bad roads, and expensive and inconvenient transportation facilities. Church organizations, lodges and labor unions were the only organizations supported by a significantly large proportion of the part-time farmers.

POPULATION

"Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials"²⁹ is the most thorough-going treatment ever accorded the subject of migration. Among the differentials or factors important in selective migration which are given separate treatment are those of age, sex, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupations, motivation, and assimilation. Not least among the contributions of the memorandum are special annotated bibliographies of American, English, and German contributions in the field. Also there are special articles on "German Approaches to Internal Migrations," "German Internal Migration Statistics, Methods, Sources, and Data," and "The Use of Routine Census and Vital Statistics Data for the Determination of Migration by Age and Sex," and notes on methods of analysis of Swedish migration data and the continuous-register system of population accounting.

"A Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution Within the United States"³⁰ has as its purpose "the development of coherence within the field of population distribution through the statement of what is known with reasonable certainty and the suggestion of research problems, attack on which may be expected to build on existing knowledge."

"Replacement Requirements of Gainful Workers in Agriculture in Ohio, 1930-40"³¹ will be only 54.3 per cent of the rural-farm males arriving at the age of twenty. This figure was arrived at by: (1) estimating the number of gainful workers, twenty years of age or over in 1930 and engaged in agriculture, who will be lost to the industry through death or retirement for the decade 1930-40; (2) estimating the number of rural-farm males who will live to reach the age of twenty years during the same decade, and who may therefore be regarded as

²⁹ Dorothy Swaine Thomas, "Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials," Social Science Research Council *Bulletin* No. 43, New York, 1938 (pp. 423).

³⁰ Rupert B. Vance, "Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution Within the United States," Social Science Research Council *Bulletin* No. 42, New York, 1938 (printed, pp. 134).

³¹ C. E. Lively, "Replacement Requirements of Gainful Workers in Agriculture in Ohio, 1930-40," Ohio State University Department of Rural Economics and Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin* No. 109, Columbus, June, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 16).

potential workers in agriculture; (3) estimating the proportion of these potential gainful workers that will be required to replace exactly those twenty years old or over or who are lost through death or retirement.

These calculations were also made for subregions in the state.²² The proportion of rural-farm males who will reach the age of twenty years during 1930-40 and will be required to replace workers lost through death and retirement during the same period ranged from 46.6 to 60.1 for subregions. These facts lead the author to conclude that Ohio's "rural-farm population is producing during this decade nearly twice as many potential male gainful workers twenty years of age as can be employed in agriculture without expanding the man-power of the industry." Furthermore, "... the opportunity for farm-reared youth to enter the occupation of farming as replacements of gainful workers lost through death or retirement is unequally distributed throughout the state. Areas of high agricultural income can use a larger proportion of the locally reared males in the industry without expanding the man-power. Areas of low income and high birth rates can use fewer than half of the locally reared males. These differentials suggest that some variation in educational policy among the sub-areas is desirable. It seems plausible that training for nonagricultural vocations should receive greater emphasis in the areas of low agricultural income and high birth rates than in the areas of high income and low or moderate birth rates. In view of the heavy emigration of youth that has characterized the areas of high income in the past, perhaps these areas have emphasized education of the non-agricultural sort to a degree which should not be maintained in the future."

*An Experiment in the Registration of Vital Statistics in China*²³ has been made by the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems and the University of Nanking. The area studied, which was chiefly agricultural, included 221 villages with a density of 2,673 persons per square mile of cultivated land. Five different schedules were used: (a) for census, (b) for births, (c) for deaths, (d) for marriages, and (e) for migration for the years from 1930 to 1935. The organization of the reporting system with 180 reporters is described, as are also the almost insurmountable difficulties confronted because of the superstitions and customs of the people. Vital statistics of the area are compared with those for China as a whole, Sweden, eleven European countries, and the United States.

Even though in China there is great room for improvement in agricultural production, there is much territory which might support a denser population and there are possibilities for industrial development, Warren S. Thompson, one of the authors, writes: "After considering all these economic factors and also trying to give due weight to less ponderable social factors, I find myself forced to a rather pessimistic view regarding the probable improvement of standards of liv-

²² C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, "A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio," Ohio State University Department of Rural Economics and Experiment Station *Bulletin* No. 106, Columbus, January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 54).

²³ Warren S. Thompson, C. M. Chiao, and D. T. Chen, *An Experiment in the Registration of Vital Statistics in China*, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Oxford, Ohio, 1938 (pp. 115).

ing in China during the foreseeable future, so far as they are dependent upon the industrial revolution that is under way or the agricultural revolution that may take place." If agricultural production were to be increased 100 per cent, 80 to 85 per cent of the increase would go to support more people. If the standard of living is to be increased, birth control must be practiced generally. This is not to be contemplated since "even the most sanguine cannot suppose that the grip of the family system in China will be greatly relaxed for several decades. Under this system, the individual counts for nought, being merely the carrier of the family line, a link in the biological chain connecting the past with the future. The whole social order of China is built upon the family and is directed to encourage a high birth rate so that the family may not die out." Important among the findings of the registration study are the following:

1. The higher the economic status of the family in the area studied, the larger the families and households.
2. The higher the economic status of the family, the larger the proportion of girl infants in families. Among poorer families, girl infants are frequently sold or given such inadequate care that they die.
3. When compared with the age distribution in eleven European countries, in Sweden, and among rural-farmers in the United States, the area studied had a larger proportion of people fourteen years of age and under, and a smaller proportion between fifteen and forty-nine, and over fifty.
4. There is a large migration from farms to market towns, especially among males between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine.

*Population Problems*⁸⁴ is a digest of a report of the National Resources Committee, "Problems of a Changing Population."⁸⁵

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND BUILDINGS

"Community Buildings for Farm Families,"⁸⁶ a farmers' bulletin issued by the United States Department of Agriculture, has been prepared in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in order to assist organized communities desiring to construct such buildings. Warnings concerning mistakes which have been made or are likely to be made, as well as suggestions and information concerning types of buildings most suitable for various community requirements are offered. Costs, design, specifications, building-code regulations, and methods of financing, and also the matter of suitable furnishing and remodeling of community buildings is treated.

"One Variety Cotton Community Organization"⁸⁷ is the title of a state extension circular which advocates the organization of such communities. According

⁸⁴ National Resources Committee, Washington, July, 1938 (pp. 28).

⁸⁵ This longer report was reviewed in a previous issue.

⁸⁶ Blanche Halbert, "Community Buildings for Farm Families," U. S. D. A. *Farmers' Bulletin No. 1804*, Washington, September, 1938 (pp. 40).

⁸⁷ J. W. Willis, "One Variety Cotton Community Organization," Mississippi State College Extension Department, U. S. D. A. co-operating, *Extension Circular No. 96*, State College, March, 1938 (pp. 11).

potential workers in agriculture; (3) estimating the proportion of these potential gainful workers that will be required to replace exactly those twenty years old or over or who are lost through death or retirement.

These calculations were also made for subregions in the state.²² The proportion of rural-farm males who will reach the age of twenty years during 1930-40 and will be required to replace workers lost through death and retirement during the same period ranged from 46.6 to 60.1 for subregions. These facts lead the author to conclude that Ohio's "rural-farm population is producing during this decade nearly twice as many potential male gainful workers twenty years of age as can be employed in agriculture without expanding the man-power of the industry." Furthermore, "... the opportunity for farm-reared youth to enter the occupation of farming as replacements of gainful workers lost through death or retirement is unequally distributed throughout the state. Areas of high agricultural income can use a larger proportion of the locally reared males in the industry without expanding the man-power. Areas of low income and high birth rates can use fewer than half of the locally reared males. These differentials suggest that some variation in educational policy among the sub-areas is desirable. It seems plausible that training for nonagricultural vocations should receive greater emphasis in the areas of low agricultural income and high birth rates than in the areas of high income and low or moderate birth rates. In view of the heavy emigration of youth that has characterized the areas of high income in the past, perhaps these areas have emphasized education of the non-agricultural sort to a degree which should not be maintained in the future."

*An Experiment in the Registration of Vital Statistics in China*²³ has been made by the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems and the University of Nanking. The area studied, which was chiefly agricultural, included 221 villages with a density of 2,673 persons per square mile of cultivated land. Five different schedules were used: (a) for census, (b) for births, (c) for deaths, (d) for marriages, and (e) for migration for the years from 1930 to 1935. The organization of the reporting system with 180 reporters is described, as are also the almost insurmountable difficulties confronted because of the superstitions and customs of the people. Vital statistics of the area are compared with those for China as a whole, Sweden, eleven European countries, and the United States.

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to the report, 156 Mississippi communities, by means of one-variety community methods, increased the value of cotton during 1937 by \$12.02 per bale, or \$8.71 per acre, netting the 14,399 co-operating farmers \$1,858,454.

A comparison of the homes of ninety families participating in Home Economics Extension activities with 120 families not participating indicates little difference.⁸⁸ Participants more frequently contacted other social and economic organizations of practically all types, had somewhat higher incomes, and lived on better roads, but otherwise there were few differences between the two groups. Field interviews were made in 92 per cent of the homes in three sample areas in two counties.

The effectiveness of extension work in one of the counties, which had had a home demonstration agent for eighteen years is compared with that in the other county, which had never had a home demonstration agent but had relied solely upon specialists for the extension program. An analysis of the reasons for non-participation in extension work is also attempted.

LAND TENURE

The Iowa Farm Tenance Committee's summary of findings⁸⁹ probably contains more psychological, sociological, and economic source material relative to the present status of land tenure in Iowa than has ever been compiled in a report for any state. Farm-tenancy hearings were held in each county beginning in January, 1938. One hundred county hearings and one state-wide hearing in Des Moines were held.

It is estimated that 8,500 people attended these hearings, an average of eighty-five persons at each. Nearly 4,000 carefully filled out questionnaires and a vast amount of factual evidence in the form of hearing reports, briefs, and letters resulted. At each meeting a morning was devoted to a discussion of two questions, namely, (a) What is wrong with our farm-tenancy situation? and (b) What could be done about it? A careful record was made of pertinent points in all statements by individuals or groups of representatives, including names, tenure status, and occupations of the speaker. An afternoon was devoted to a discussion of a "short questionnaire" of eight questions. Following discussion each question was answered. This resulted in 3,096 usable questionnaires. Thereafter a "long questionnaire" of forty questions was circulated. These were to be taken home, filled out, and returned. There were 664 of these returned in usable form.

Over three-fourths of the people filling out the short schedule "believe that both tenancy and heavily mortgaged ownership have an exploitative effect upon the land, and are unfavorable to the development of farms and family life, the community, and cooperative organizations." In the case of both questionnaires,

⁸⁸ Gladys Gallup and M. Elmina White, "Participation in Home-Economics Extension and Effectiveness of the Program: A Study of 210 Rural Families in Spokane and Skagit Counties, Washington, 1936," *Extension Service Circular No. 285*, Washington, June, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 54).

⁸⁹ *Iowa Farm Tenancy Committee*, Iowa State Planning Board, May, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 282).

slightly over half of the returns were from farm tenants, and only 2 per cent were neither landlord nor tenant. Ninety-four per cent of the persons returning the "long questionnaire" answered "yes" to the question, "Would the average renter take better care of soil and improvements if his tenure were more secure?" The report states that "it can be said without exaggeration that these long questionnaires reflect the sentiment of the best judgment in Iowa." The publication includes a summary of the County Agricultural Planning Committee Reports relative to farm tenancy. Many state maps are made from these reports. For example, there is a map based upon the question, "What percentage of tenants in your community plan to own a farm some day?"

RURAL LIFE IN GERMANY

A sociological and economic analysis of five German peasant villages in Hannover⁴⁰ is typical of the studies of rural life which have resulted in the new interest in this subject in Germany. The customs and traditions as well as the community organization and the social relationships of the people from 1880 to 1932 are described.

The decay of mountain peasant culture in Lower Austria with special reference to the Schwarza Valley⁴¹ is described in a monograph based primarily upon analyses of local records and first-hand information. The historical survey of the culture of the Schwarza Valley proves that from its early beginnings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries war, harvest failures, famines, and epidemics were among the main causes of failure. After the middle of the nineteenth century the land-grabbing activities of the large-estate owners, the change to commercialized agriculture and the accompanying swing over to money economy and industrialization brought on the destruction of the peasant economy. Postwar inflation, destruction of the forests, and unemployment also had their influence. Three-fourths of the area of Upper Schwarza is in nonpeasant ownership. One-eighth of the houses in the Oberlauf district are tenantless, but many former peasants, having sold their land, continue to live in their old abodes and to work in the surrounding industries. Not least important in the decay of the peasantry is the importance of the weakening of their psychological attachment to, and esteem for, the status of the peasant.

In addition the following publications have been received this quarter:

Agricultural Education in the World, Vol. III: *North America*, International Institute of Agriculture, Rome: 1938 (pp. 277).

Charles E. Allred and Paul T. Sant, "Land Use Problems in Crockett County, Tennessee," *University of Tennessee Rural Research Series Monograph No. 72*, Knoxville: June 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 43).

⁴⁰ Harald Huener, *Die wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen des Bauerntums in der Landschaft der mittleren Aler von etwa 1880 bis 1932*, Ein Beitrag zur Bauernschaftsforschung der Historischen Kommission zu Hannover, Hildesheim, 1937.

⁴¹ Franz Knotzinger, *Der Rückgang Des Gebirgsbauerntums in Niederösterreich*, Eine Siedlungskundliche Darstellung Seiner Grundlagen und Hand Der Entwicklung im Oberen Schwarztal, Südostdeutsches Bauerntum, Berlin-Wien, 1938.

- Charles E. Allred, S. W. Atkins, and B. D. Raskopf, *Human and Physical Resources of Tennessee*, University of Tennessee, Knoxville: August, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 40).
- Annual Report of the Rural-Urban Activities Centering at Oglebay Park*, West Virginia University Agricultural Extension, Morgantown: 1936 (mimeographed, pp. 107).
- A. W. Ashby, *Agriculture and National Defence*, Agricultural Economics Society, London: 1938 (pp. 6).
- Abel Beckerich, *Traité-Formulaire des Syndicats Agricoles; leur Création et leur Fonctionnement; les Aspects de leur Activité; leur Code et leur Legislation Speciale; la Mutualité en Agriculture*, Vols. I and II, Paris: 1937 (pp. 759 and 672).
- Children Preferred*, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: 1937 (pp. 27).
- The Right Hon. Earl De La Warr, *Relation of Agricultural Education and Research to the Development of British Agriculture*, Agricultural Economics Society, London: 1938 (pp. 8).
- The Disinherited Speak*, New York: 1938 (pp. 29).
- Helen Nebeker Hann and Hazel K. Stiebeling, "Food Consumption of Children at the National Child Research Center," U. S. D. A. *Circular No. 481*, Washington: August, 1938 (pp. 34).
- David Horowitz, *Jewish Colonization in Palestine*, Institute of Economic Research, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem: 1937 (pp. 52).
- Index of Research Projects*, Vol. I, Works Progress Administration, Washington: 1938 (pp. 291).
- An Indexed Bibliography of the Tennessee Valley Authority Supplement January-June, 1938*, compiled by Harry C. Bauer, Office of the Director of Information, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville: 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 15).
- Palmer O. Johnson and Oswald L. Harvey, "The National Youth Administration," *Staff Study No. 13*, Washington: 1938 (pp. 121).
- Barnard D. Joy, "Organizations and Programs for Rural Young People," Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics *Extension Service Circular No. 273*, Washington: November, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 41).
- Barnard D. Joy, "Statistical Measurements of 4-H Club Work With Special Reference to 1936," *Extension Service Circular No. 270*, Washington: October, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 18).
- Olaf F. Larson and John E. Wilson, "The Relief Situation in Colorado Rural and Town Areas," *Works Progress Administration Social Research Bulletin No. 5*, Fort Collins: August, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 31).
- Reginald Lennard, *Manorial Traffic and Agricultural Trade in Medieval England*, Agricultural Economics Society, London: 1938 (pp. 17).
- C. R. Orton, "Implications of Low-Income Farm Families to State and Local Governments" (Low-Income Farms in West Virginia a Symposium), *Circular No. 32*, Morgantown: August, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 44).

- Progress Report: State Planning in Mississippi*, Jackson: January, 1938 (pp. 162).
- Recreational Use of Land in the United States*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1938 (pp. 280).
- Report of the Closer Settlement Commission for the Year Ended 30th June, 1937*, H. J. Green, Government Printer, Melbourne, Australia: 1937 (pp. 34).
- Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington: 1938 (pp. 64).
- Résumé of Experience in County Agricultural Planning*, U. S. D. A. Extension Service, Washington: 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 15).
- James F. Rogers, "The School Custodian," U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education 1938 *Bulletin No. 2*, Washington: 1938 (pp. 44).
- The Role of the Land-Grant College in Governmental Agricultural Programs*, Iowa State College, Ames: June, 1938 (pp. 14).
- J. B. Shannon, *A Survey of the Natural Resources and Population Trends of Kentucky River Valleys*, University of Kentucky Bureau of Government Research, Lexington: 1937 (pp. 28).
- Special Report of the Virginia State Planning Board*, Richmond: January, 1937.
- Trends in Size and Production of the Aggregate Farm Enterprise, 1909-36*, Works Progress Administration National Research Project, Washington: 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 255).
- Leon E. Truesdell, *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1936; Statistics of Mental Patients in State Hospitals; together with Brief Statistics of Mental Patients in other Hospitals for Mental Disease*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington: 1938 (pp. 69).
- Alice E. Van Diest, "Welfare and Health Facilities in Colorado," Colorado College *Publication General Series No. 214*, Colorado Springs: 1937 (pp. 17).

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

Youth Tell Their Story. By Howard M. Bell. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938. Pp. vii, 270. \$1.50.

A New Deal for Youth: The Story of the National Youth Administration. By Betty and Ernest K. Lindley. New York: The Viking Press, 1938. Pp. x, 309. \$3.00.

These two volumes, both dealing with present-day American youth, should be read together. The first gives a wealth of facts concerning the problems of youth, the second describes a large-scale governmental effort designed to alleviate the most pressing of these problems.

Youth Tell Their Story presents in an exceptionally lucid and interesting way the results of an ambitious sampling study. Back in 1935 the American Youth Commission decided to find out the facts about youth conditions. Choosing Maryland as a typical state, it trained thirty-five interviewers and turned them loose to question 13,528 young people between the ages sixteen and twenty-four selected at random from all social classes and from different places in the state. The interviewers asked eighty carefully planned questions aimed in each case to secure either facts about or opinions of each young person concerning personal and public issues. The tabulated results, covering countless items under the headings of home, school, work, church, and attitudes (briefly summarized in *Life* for June 10, where glorified case studies were added), are often predictable, sometimes surprising, and in any case noteworthy. Not only is the written account of these results clear, but also the pictorial and graphic presentation of statistical material is remarkably effective. The book achieves the pinnacle of accurate simplicity in the printed communication of quantitative results.

In view of the purpose for which the study was initiated, it is no adverse criticism to point out that the commission did not frame the eighty questions with theoretical issues in mind. Their interest instead was in practical problems concerning what ought to be done, or how to remedy the position of youth in a sick society. As one could therefore expect, the facts as facts are all right, but they are of the nature of historical rather than scientific facts, since they are not stated in any but a common-sense frame of reference. Hence for more purely scientific work (such as research in the sociology of youth) the facts are highly useful, but only when they are restated in terms of an explicit frame of reference.

The statistical technique seems to have been used in this study with unusual sobriety and effectiveness. The reviewer would make only one quibble. In spite of the excellent and well-advised chapter devoted to showing that Maryland is a

typical state, one may still maintain that since Maryland is an extreme Eastern state, it is probably not typical with regard to such important matters as folkways and mores. It is indeed questionable whether there exists such a thing as a typical state, since one single regional unit out of forty-eight does not constitute a good basis for sampling. But this objection is only a quibble, because for the purposes the Commission has in mind there can be no serious obstacle to taking the Maryland results as roughly representative of the entire youth of America.

Though he is chiefly content to state the results, the author occasionally weaves inconspicuous interpretations and evaluations into the matter. The evaluations, which are quite legitimate in a work of this sort, point out the significance of the facts in the light of our democratic standards of individual welfare. The interpretations usually take the form of economic determinism, but without any systematic delimitation of the economic from other factors, and without the recognition of any inconsistency when other factors are treated as independent variables. For example, it is shown that sex, race, age, hours of work, residence, education, and occupation all affect the wages of a young person; presumably then, these are interdependent variables; yet at the same time it is taken as an indication of economic determinism when they are shown to be in many cases a function of the wages the father earned.

So effective is the study that it may have considerable influence upon the reading public. Certainly its high calibre makes it inadvisable for any social scientist interested in youth to neglect it.

Many facts emerge which give insight into American society in general. For one thing, the volume contains much information about rural life. The responses to the question, "Where would you prefer to live?" reveal, for example, that there is least satisfaction among residents of villages (2,500 or less), three out of every four young people in such places saying that they would move if they could. Almost half (46 per cent) of farm youth would prefer to live somewhere else; and all of the young people, whether living in the country, in villages, towns, or cities, show the greatest preference for city and suburban residence. Fewer farm homes are broken by divorce, separation, or desertion (in fact, such homes seem to increase with density of population). Rural young people have less vocational guidance than other youth; they use available libraries much less than village, town, and city youth; and fewer of them have conveniences in their homes. One farm youth in nine lives in a home with no conveniences at all, six in every seven have no central heating; and one in every two has no radio and no magazine subscription; two in every three have no electricity; and one in five has no bathrom. Yet three of every four, for obvious reasons, have automobiles. As compared with other young people, farm youths begin work earlier in life, work more hours per week, earn less money, enjoy less group recreation. When they tell their story, it is a hard one.

There is less material in the Lindleys' book that relates to rural youth as such, and little that falls into the category of sociological analysis. *A New Deal for Youth* pretends to be only an informal, sympathetic description of the National Youth Administration in practice. On this level, however, it is an excellent piece

of work, being clear, comprehensive, well informed. As the authors point out, there are more youth enrolled on NYA programs than in the CCC, yet since NYA youth wear no uniforms or distinguishing insignia, they have received far less publicity than the CCC, which in many ways is a more inadequate agency. This book, apparently the result of a three-month field trip around the country, was deliberately written to bring the NYA to public attention. It contains thirty-two pages of excellent photographs, recounts the stages in the formation of the NYA organization, describes in detail (with case material and concrete figures) the NYA Work Projects, Junior Employment Divisions, School Aid activities, and gives ninety pages of factual appendices. One could judge from the previous Lindley books and from the dedication to Mrs. Roosevelt, that the account would be warmly sympathetic. The authors state the purpose of the NYA as ameliorative only, it being an effort to keep youth in a working and training frame of mind during depression times when the job market cannot absorb them, and to help them find jobs, acquire a new spirit of community consciousness and ambition, aid their families, and look at occupational possibilities more realistically than they are wont to do. Though the authors do not fail to make a few critical remarks (e.g., with reference to occasional useless projects, "chiseling" college students, and the lack of an adequate health program), they find little fault with the program itself and paint in glowing terms its achievement to date, made with small funds and small staff.

It is plain that rural youth have constituted a special problem from the inception of the program. Their lack of education, their isolation, and their large numbers (resulting from the rural birth rate) have made them especially in need of NYA help, and yet the same factors have militated against the government's ability to extend that help to them. The authors say some hard things about the inequality between urban and rural education in the United States (pp. 192-96). Such passages should be read with the recent report of the National Resources Committee on *Problems of a Changing Population* in mind, because the latter (as well as *Youth Tell Their Story*) helps to explain the difficulties that NYA has had with rural people.

To what extent the NYA constitutes a useful medicine for the allegedly ailing conditions disclosed by the Youth Commission's report, any reader of the two books under review can judge for himself. One thing seems certain: the United States, in common with most other nations, is moving toward a regime in which the relation between the state and youth will be direct and paternalistic in a way that it has not been before. The NYA is less formal, hence more plastic, than the public school system. It represents a new step in the state control of the rearing and placement of youth. In its school aid, for example, it has undertaken to furnish the young person with that amount of extra but necessary money previously given by the family. In its work projects it is providing employment that was formerly supplied by private business. These are of course stopgap measures, but since social change seldom retraces its steps, they may point toward a new status quo.

Men Without Work: a Report Made to the Pilgrim Trust. With an introduction by the Archbishop of York and a preface by Lord Macmillan. Cambridge: The University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xii, 447. \$3.00.

This work might be called a companion volume of Bakke's *The Unemployed Man*. Like it, the book is a study of English unemployment under the dole. The committee making the study was particularly concerned with the long-unemployed man (unemployed for a year or more) and his adjustment to reduced income, increased leisure, and changed situation generally. Statistical materials are supplemented by the qualitative impressions of the investigators. Case studies, properly so called, do not figure in the work. Some readers may be annoyed by the moral overtones which, willy-nilly, creep into the reports of investigators. The resulting damage to the scientific tenor of the work is scarcely offset by its increased readability.

With limitations, this book succeeds in its aim of treating unemployment as a social problem rather than as a strictly economic one. It is with such an aim in mind that the investigators include the family and community of the unemployed man as part of the necessary data for understanding the effects of continued idleness. Physical, psychological, and moral effects of unemployment are given due consideration, but the reviewer was left with the feeling that he really knew very little about the concrete effects upon unemployed workers and their families. Perhaps this is the result of a certain bias in favor of the inclusion of case studies, or the use of the technique of participant observation as handled so ably by Professor Bakke.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of this study, however, is that it accepts continued unemployment as a given datum, and discusses the club and social service movements as adjustments to the situation. It seems to the reviewer that the assumption of most American students of unemployment is still that "something can be done about it." Which assumption is correct we are in no position to say, but it should be pointed out that hard-headed realism need not stop at accepting existing conditions as permanent. The phenomena of basic social change are almost as well documented as the phenomena of adjustment to persistent social conditions.

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

The People and the Land: Proceedings of the Twentieth American Country Life Conference, Manhattan, Kansas, October 14-16, 1937. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. 124 pp. \$1.50.

The American Country Life Movement was launched in 1919 to foster the social welfare and community aspects of rural life. The annual proceedings accordingly are expected to be more valuable as sources than as research reports of what well-informed farm groups are thinking about public policy. Many of the papers begin by assuming certain desirable goals in the relation of people to the land, test these against conditions, and then discuss the means of realizing

them. Nevertheless, in the sessions on the Farm Family, Land Tenure, Conservation, Human Resources, and Youth Problems, papers valuable to research in rural sociology were read by E. L. Kirkpatrick, Carl C. Taylor, W. M. Jardine, and President Grace E. Frysinger. The discussions should prove valuable to any who wish to predict the trend of public opinion and policy in this field of the people and the land.

University of North Carolina

RUPERT B. VANCE

Diminishing Return and Planned Economy. By George M. Peterson. New York: The Ronald Press, 1937. Pp. xii, 254. \$3.00.

The author presents this book as a method of analysis useful in teaching the fundamental principles of economics. He designed the text for undergraduate and graduate courses. It is orthodox economics restated and pointed at some of the problems of today, the chief contribution being intended as a graphic analysis of the law of diminishing returns.

The first four chapters are devoted to an elementary discussion of the law of diminishing returns, with a presentation of the new analysis of this law. Applications of the law are presented in Chapter V. The expression, "law of diminishing returns," is here used to cover a wide field of analysis of the combinations of variables and the economic effects of changing proportions. Under this title are included points relating to combinations of factors of production, demand, and the marginal value of units or prices.

Planned economy is defined as "the deliberate control or attempted control of economic forces by some agency or group for the purpose of attaining or progressing towards some goal which, at a given time, seems to be desirable for the future." This definition would apply to private as well as social planning, but the discussion of planning in this book is directed primarily at social economic planning. The term *social economic planning* is used to designate "plans made by some human group, such as the family, community, state, or nation, for the purpose of maintaining the group and securing an adequate, stable, permanent, well-distributed volume of goods and services." It will be noted that this definition does not include international or world-wide plans. The author does not believe that world-planning is practical.

• Considerable attention is devoted to the difference between planning for private profit and planning for group welfare. The law of diminishing returns applies to both, and many mistakes are made in group planning because this is not recognized. Many also fail to recognize the fact that planning for private profit or even for one group may be detrimental to the general welfare, because the plans of one individual or of one group may directly affect others. For example, we analyze the supply and demand conditions for one commodity on the assumption that other conditions remain constant, but corresponding changes in the production or consumption of other commodities are likely to follow and even be compelled by changes effected in one commodity. Planning for social welfare

is far more complex than planning for private profit because of the conflicting interests that are involved.

The author recognizes clearly that social planning must be made with due regard to the characteristics and extent of the group for which plans are being made. Family planning may conflict with community planning, and community planning in turn with national planning. He says, "One of the first principles to recognize in economic planning is that the cause and effect relation between variables is influenced by the size of the universe in which they operate and the degree to which this universe is self-sufficient or independent of other universes." The problem of social economic planning is stated as follows: "to make the best possible combination of the internal factors under control and to fit this internal combination to the external forces outside of control, in such a way that a maximum long-time stable income is assured."

The author recognizes the problem presented in trying to harmonize the idea that private profit and property rights may be essential to secure the greatest production, to insure the production of the things most wanted, and to secure the best combination of productive resources, with social planning in which we are primarily concerned with the welfare of the people. The primary objectives of social planning are security and maximum long-time stable income. Security and stability of income may be enhanced by encouraging self-sufficiency; nationally, this may lead to a protective tariff policy. Maximum income for short periods may be sacrificed for security. The author does not deal directly with the question as to whether or not increasing self-sufficiency to stabilize income may lower the long-time average income, and thus be inconsistent with the other objective of obtaining maximum income.

Business cycles with recurring depressions are considered to be caused largely by maldistribution of income. He recognizes the necessity of some inequality of income to secure the best possible utilization of resources including human power and ingenuity, but considers it necessary for the welfare of society to secure a more equal distribution of income. He would accomplish this through taxation, a restriction of property rights, and the socialization of more services.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book deals with diminishing returns and population. Social planning would include consideration of demand, i.e., what the people want and should want. In dealing with the theory of pressure of population on resources, he asserts that "a planned economy presupposes scientific knowledge will be substituted for custom and habit in consumption as well as in production." The discussion of population thus leads to a consideration of the relation of population to productive resources. The optimum population of a nation is defined as "a number of people which, when combined with our permanent or inexhaustible resources and an equitable system of distribution, can permanently enjoy a standard of living based upon scientific knowledge, while rearing just enough children of at least equal caliber to exactly maintain a static size of population." He follows this definition with a statement that "perhaps the aim and goal of all economic planning should be to maintain the optimum population." These statements are followed by a conclusion that the "first prob-

lem to be faced by social economic planning, if it wishes to have as its ultimate goal the maintenance of the population, is that of separating personal, especially family incomes, from marginal rates of return set by the law of diminishing returns." He also adds, "If we are to rely on a price system, then wealth and incomes must be so distributed that prices express the needs and desires of the great mass of the population and not chiefly the purchasing power of the wealthy or even of the middle class of small property owners." In these quotations we find many stimulating ideas. It is very difficult to make them hang together as a chart for social planning.

U. S. Department of Agriculture

O. C. STINE

Labor in the United States. By W. S. Woytinsky. Washington: Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council, 1938. Pp. xxii, 333. \$3.50.

This recent report from the Social Science Research Council provides data that will be useful to many rural sociologists. Many of us have found the occupational statistics to be the most confused data gathered by the Bureau of Census. This report prepares the way for more satisfactory statistics of occupation: (1) by a thoroughgoing reclassification and tabulation of 1930 data; and (2) by demonstrating how future inquiries, "especially the 1940 Census, may provide more useful information for the administration of modern social legislation."

Part I of the report interprets the existing statistics relating to the supply of labor; Part II brings together data from the Censuses of Agriculture, Mines, Manufactures, Construction, Distribution, Business, etc., in an attempt to gauge the demand for labor. Especially useful in both cases is the separation of agricultural from nonagricultural groups.

Adequate expositions of methodology are given throughout the text. Fifty well-constructed charts and diagrams enhance the value of the work.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

Metropolis: A Study of Urban Communities. By Howard B. Woolston. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938. Pp. 325. \$2.75.

This book attempts to give "an account of city life as it unfolded during the past fifty years in America." With this objective "no pretense" is made "of giving the latest information up to date."

Thus we have a book published on May 27, 1938, with no mention of the urban studies of the National Resources Board; with three paragraphs on relief, one dealing with the English law of 1601 and a second with the Workhouse Test of 1834 (Is not federal and local tax-supported relief in its incidence and problems part of "city life as it unfolded"?); with no mention of the depression and its influences; with population and fecundity discussed largely on the basis of data prior to 1920. But why continue? The author warns that these omissions are not germane to his theme, though the reviewer questions the wisdom of his decision.

We read that the countryman is "traditionally conservative though often independent in his thinking . . . the townsmen more radical though unduly influenced by self-interest or demagoguery." "The cities are bound to become hotbeds of radicalism." (Perhaps Mr. Hearst *is* right.) Yet the city man "is generally admitted to be tolerant, objective and practical in his thinking." This all leaves the reviewer a bit confused.

On the basis of two studies of intelligence published in 1925 and covering relatively few children, as compared to those since studied both more carefully and more elaborately, we are told that "city children average about 20 per cent higher than country children of like ages" and that "measurable differences of intelligence between townsmen and country dwellers do exist."

This seems to the reviewer a not unfair sample of how ancient data frequently get the author into trouble. This is true again in the treatments of social work, religion, and education, all of which are very inadequate, to say the least. In some areas, of course, his conclusions still hold and the book is a good summary of what an intelligent layman might tell a caller from Mars about our urban development. The relative brevity of the book for one that ranges over the whole field of urban sociology permits easy generalization, as the author illustrates his points from 150 cities, ancient and modern, of which nearly three-fourths are foreign.

There is little of value in this book that cannot be found in other texts in the slowly developing field of urban sociology.

Teachers College
Columbia University

EDMUND DES BRUNNER

Littledene: A New Zealand Rural Community. By H. C. D. Somerset. New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Educational Research Series No. 5. Wellington, N. Z.: Whitcomb and Toombs, Ltd.; London: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. x, 102, 5 plates. (Paper)

I have long wanted to know what sort of rural community life exists in New Zealand and Australia, but have never been able to find any descriptions of their social organization. Through the courtesy of Dr. J. H. Kolb, I am delighted to have this pleasantly intimate account of a rural community in New Zealand, which we are assured typifies much of rural life in that country, although I suspect that this particular vicinity is exceptionally advanced in its educational program. The community as described includes some 350 square miles, or about half the size of one of our counties, with a population of 1800.

The agriculture and home life are well depicted as are the various social organizations, including the church life. Special attention is given to the schools and to the unusually successful program of adult education, which is much more advanced than any in this country. It is interesting to observe that some of the same social trends develop in New Zealand. Thus sectarianism has divided the church and made its influence less important, and such sects as the Pentecostals play the same role there as here. There tends to be an overorganization so that

the younger people are absorbed in a multiplicity of committee responsibilities, etc., and are robbed of real leisure. Eating plays a large part in the social life and the women are artists in cookery. The mores are a generation behind those in this country with regard to Sunday observance, but the automobile is changing them, for it is permissible to take auto rides on Sunday afternoon, although any games are strictly taboo. The schools have been consolidated, but have had the same problems that we have in adapting the curriculum to the needs of their pupils, and they have the same difficulty of opening the school plant to the use of adult education classes. "It is important to note that the animating idea of the studies in the adult classes, and to a lesser extent in the school as well, is that of education through a constantly expanding awareness of community."

The study was made under a subvention from the Carnegie Corporation and the writer had the advantage of travel in the United States and Europe to give perspective to his study. He has produced an unusually effective sociological description in revealing a clear picture of the life and attitudes of the community. We need more such studies in this country and hope that Mr. Somerset and others may be able to give us similar accounts of other New Zealand rural communities, which will be invaluable in giving insight and perspective for the study of rural life in this country.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

New England Village Life. By Edward M. Chapman. Cambridge: privately printed at the Riverside Press, 1937. Pp. 232. \$2.50.

The preface of this beautifully printed book starts with the almost aggressive assertion that it is not a "treatise upon Rural Sociology." But it may fairly be claimed as the stuff out of which sociology is made.

The author's family has lived in one Connecticut town for more than three centuries and an appreciable portion of this time is covered by the diaries of his forebears.

He writes of sailors and landmen, farmers and farmer-fishermen, of the hired man and the farmer's year, of the village church, and of the human activities on the sea, in forest and field, of the salt marshes and their many uses, and of the market places and prices. There are authentic pictures of family life, of town meetings, of effective social service before the term was coined, of the avocations of yesteryear.

The pages reflect the dry humor and whimsical wisdom still characteristic of the true Yankee stock of the northeastern seaboard, and they record the debt the nation owes the author's two towns of Old Lyme and Old Saybrooke—yes, and scores of others he does not mention because of the men of distinction in all fields they have sent beyond their borders, without impoverishing their life.

The faults of Puritan New England are admitted but the author feels, and rightly so, that they have been overpublicized. The sordid side of life, the bizarre in religion, the selfishness of men are tools for the novelist who, like the newspaperman, finds no profit in those things which are true, honorable and righteous

altogether. A few passages are perhaps sentimental, and some may appear too detailed. But in the main Mr. Chapman has caught and revealed in a gracious book the true inwardness of one of the precious parts of our rural heritage.

Teachers College
Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Forty Acres and Steel Mules. By Herman Clarence Nixon. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. vii, 98, illustrated. \$2.50.

The commendable policy of the University of North Carolina Press to present studies of the South by southerners continues. Much information about the rural South has been boiled down to a short, simply worded statement for general consumption. Few highspots are neglected.

The first half of the book describes the agricultural and village South, its material standard of living and the intricacies of its economy. The information is not new but is given rather as a readable, concise summary. More than usual emphasis is placed upon merchants and markets, towns and villages.

The remainder of the work reviews briefly ameliorative schemes carried out in this and other countries, and numerous points of departure are suggested for the South. The author's emphasis upon the need for revitalized village life is worthy of mention. Industrial expansion on a decentralized basis is viewed as essential for the South, but this warning is given: "The town welcome sign to new plants should carry a speed limit, a limit on the production of cheap goods with cheap labor." The need for social planning and the implications of Odum's regionalism, though presented in the final chapters, are major assumptions throughout the volume.

Two points continually come to the mind of this reviewer as he peruses contemporary studies of the rural South. First, there seems to be a lack of accurate information concerning the economy and culture of the upland country between the plantation areas and the mountains, and of the tidewater subregions stretching between the plantation areas and the sea or Gulf. Noteworthy studies have been made of owners, tenants, croppers, and laborers in the level, rich plantation country with its high proportion of Negroes, but similar data are not available for the yeomen farmers of the rolling, eroded uplands where whites predominate and commissaries are less frequent, where tenants and croppers more seldom have the advantages of close supervision and the disadvantages of strict dictation, where society is more democratic. The inhabitants of the Southern Appalachians and Ozarks have often been the subject of studies, but realistic, comprehensive analyses of the economy and culture of the frequently racially intermixed population of the tidewater areas, with their poor soils and cutover timber lands, are few.

The second point is that students of the rural South have been content for the most part with a socio-economic approach which overlooks many factors of possible sociological significance. The economic standard of living is given chief attention with little thought to what may be more important, the nonmaterial

standard of living. Using Nixon's phrase, southern agriculture is judged "by both the economic and the scientific test" and is found wanting. It must be admitted that much poverty in southern agriculture should be alleviated, but possible schemes for accomplishing this should be weighed with the thought in mind of ultimate effects upon rural culture and family organization. Some few sociologists may disagree with Nixon that a paramount need of the South is to "relieve the region of the burden of being the human breeding ground of the nation." From a purely economic standpoint, the high birth rate in the rural South may be viewed as a burden, but C. C. Zimmerman, O. E. Baker, and others have pointed out certain intangible advantages of large families and an expanding population, while indicating possible dangers to the society in a declining population.

Furman University

GORDON BLACKWELL

World Immigration, with Special Reference to the United States. By Maurice R. Davie. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. x, 588. \$3.75.

This analysis of the origin, dispersion, and historical aspects of the great immigration currents of the world's population also describes the causes and extent of population movements. The major sources of immigration are: northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, New World countries, and Asia. The countries of destination for each major migrating group are given, with special emphasis upon movements into the United States. Some countries are treated as both sources and recipients of migration. Also treated are the effects of immigration, as well as the problems of assimilation, immigration legislation and administration. Perhaps too little consideration is given to these problems, and, despite the qualifying subtitle, not enough emphasis is given to the effects of migration upon the emigrant countries. The author points out that mass population movements are probably a thing of the past in the far western world, as the stage is already being set in the Far East for the next great migration drama.

Some of the deficiencies of the book are: not enough consideration is given early migration to the United States, especially to the southern parts; the work of E. G. Ravenstein, together with his theories of migration, is not sufficiently considered (Ravenstein's name does not appear in the index); Frederick J. Turner's *The Frontier in American History* is listed in the bibliography, but does not, it seems, receive the attention in references and citations that it deserves in the analysis of colonial immigration. Nonetheless, the book is readable, it has excellent references to the literature in the chapter bibliographies, and is frequently punctuated with interesting materials, such, for example, as the mention of a cartoon appearing in *The New Yorker* magazine, picturing a tombstone with the following inscription: In Memory of Our Beloved Father, Isadore Cohen (signed) Benson Cowan, Samwyh Cain, Jackson Quesne, Maxwell Kane, Davison Connel.

Included in the work is an excellent chart showing graphically the waves of migration to the United States from 1820 through 1935. The treatment given

to the movements of the Jewish people is of particular interest in the light of recent European episodes. Davie's book will be of value to students concerned with population movements.

Clemson College

B. O. WILLIAMS

Mixed Committee of the League of Nations: Final Report on the Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy. Series of League of Nations Publications No. II. Economic and Financial, 1937. Pp. 327.

This League report on nutrition deals chiefly with Europe, the British Dominions, South America, and the United States. The problems vary widely, but the goal (sufficient good food) is the same, and the tendency toward better nutrition needs direction and stimulation. In the West, statistics reveal improvement, "but millions suffer everywhere." National policy should bring the right foods within the reach of all, yet the health of children is the kernel of the problem. Meanwhile direct relief, adequate institutional meals, school meals, improved nutrition of farm families, greater use of milk, and development of sea fisheries are to be emphasized. Orientation that should be given to commercial policy in light of nutritional requirements is a complex problem; furthermore, complete acceptance of adequate nutrition as a goal is paramount to the commercial policy of any country.

U. S. Department of Agriculture

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN

The Plough and the Sword: Labor, Land, and Property in Fascist Italy. By Carl T. Schmidt. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. VII, 197. \$2.50.

This book is a strong critique, well weighted with pertinent statistics, of the actual programs developed during fifteen years of Fascism to meet the chronic problems of Italian agriculture. The first two chapters contain background material, brief but adequate, devoted largely to regional description, type of tenure and the economic status of the agriculturist. Emphasis is on diversity, poverty, and the struggle for redistribution of large landholdings. The growth of labor organizations and co-operatives down through 1920 is traced. Though peasant gains were slow they were significant even after the war. But at the critical time the liberals leading the masses did not take full advantage of the situation and a more conservative or counter-revolutionary group, the Fascists, came into control, and of course inherited the chronic rural problems. The author maintains that the struggle of the rural masses to conquer these chronic limitations (geographic, economic, social, and political) is of the essence of Italy's history in recent times.

Much of the remainder of the book is devoted to three major problems: wheat, reclamation, and the redistribution of agricultural land. Seasonally, the world's newspapers and Italian officials devote much attention to the size of the wheat

crop. Without question there has been a sharp increase in Italian yields, beginning several years before the Fascist regime. (See M. K. Bennett, "Trends of Yield in Major Wheat Regions since 1885," *Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute*, XIV, November, 1937.) Virtual self-sufficiency as regards this most important food has been closely approached, but at an excessive cost—a cost which must include the serious disturbance of the agricultural equilibrium of the nation. It would seem that mainly the politician, the industrialist, and the land-owning class have been served thereby.

The program for reclamation (all major elements of which were conceived by 1912) has been pushed spasmodically, with the suggestion that most of it may eventually be abandoned. Status and success of the program are difficult to measure, depending too much upon definition. As might be expected, emphasis has shifted more and more to unimportant, perhaps unsound, but politically expedient and showy projects. Little land has been provided for the rural masses, either by reclamation or expropriation. At the same time the status of the landless farm workers and small landowners seems to have fallen lower, absolutely and relatively, not only as regards hours and wages but in most other respects. Agricultural organizations which might help to solve the problem of the rural masses have been nearly or entirely rooted out as trouble makers for those in control.

Though the reader is not allowed to forget where Dr. Schmidt's sympathies lie, the book is nevertheless factual, not emotional. Moreover it is surprisingly readable for one which contains so many statistics. Abundant footnotes and index are provided. The selected bibliography will be particularly useful because of its numerous foreign inclusions.

Rural Electrification Administration

JOHN KERR ROSE

China at Work. By Rudolf P. Hommel. Published for the Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pennsylvania. New York: John Day Company, 1937. Pp. x, 366. \$5.00.

China at Work is a most original and valuable book but its content is not accurately described either by the title or the subtitle, the latter being: "An illustrated record of the primitive industries of China's masses, whose life is toil, and thus an account of Chinese civilization." Actually the purpose of the volume is "to record by photographs and descriptions the tools and implements of the Chinese people." The tools and implements dealt with are further defined as "primary tools" and they are divided into five classes: (1) those for making tools or for iron working, (2) those for procuring food, (3) those for making clothing, (4) those for providing shelter, and (5) those for enabling transport. However, the author does describe numerous processes in which tools are used, such as coal-mining, rice-culture, oil-extraction, building-construction, thereby greatly increasing the interest and sociological value of the treatise. Essentially the material is technical, the social implications of the described implements and processes being touched only incidentally.

Mr. Hommel has performed a remarkable work in the face of the serious ob-

stale of Chinese antagonism to the camera. His findings were obtained over a period of eight years, 1921-26 and 1928-30, in the provinces of the Yangtze valley and in Shantung and Hopei (Chihli). The investigation was planned, equipped, and directed by the late Henry Chapman Mercer of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, in part to obtain examples of the age-old tools of China for the museum established at Doylestown by Dr. Mercer.

While there is no attempt to portray or describe all the tools of the areas surveyed, the number included is large. The 535 illustrations, many of which picture or diagram several examples, are so placed as to facilitate understanding of the clearly written descriptions. By means of scales of feet or inches approximate measurements are printed alongside the photographed object. Almost exclusively the volume is a record of the author's own observations, and it must be presumed that he obtained information on the manufacture and operation of the tools on the spot through interpreters. Findings are not grouped by provinces or other units of area, but each is tagged as to location. References are made to similar implements of other civilizations, but there is no attempt to ascertain in more than a few instances the debt, if any, of Chinese tool-makers to their confreres in other lands.

The book is attractively bound, printed on heavy enameled paper and indexed.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD I. QUIGLEY

The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City. By Lawrence R. Chenault. New York: Morningside Heights, Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xii, 190. \$2.25.

Chenault's doctoral dissertation, a good piece of work, will be welcomed by all those rural sociologists who are interested in the Spanish-speaking lands. Although one would hardly suspect it from the title, Part I of this monograph, consisting of three chapters and making up one-third of the monograph, is an analysis of conditions in Puerto Rico. Chapter III, dealing with the population of Puerto Rico, is well done and should prove valuable to those who are interested in population questions. A six-page bibliography is certain to prove helpful.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemption Project to Manufacture Naval Stores. By Walter A. Knittle. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1937. Pp. xxii, 320. \$3.50,

Studies of immigration or emigration and internal migration have usually been conducted completely separately. Certain studies of the Scotch-Irish have combined the two approaches, but we have here a volume in which material for the tracing of families throughout their migratory careers is provided in part.

Religious, political, and economic considerations urging the British government to capitalize upon peasant desires to emigrate, and the unsuccessful efforts to exploit the Palatines in a particular colonial enterprise are clearly pictured, and

cast much light upon some types of emigration to the new world. The reactions of the immigrants to this situation and their attraction to the frontier contribute to our knowledge of the settlement of the hinterlands of the colonies. The author seeks to qualify Turner's frontier theory by emphasizing that the less placid individuals moved out of the allotted Hudson valley tracts to the frontier.

In common with most studies of migration written by historians and economists this one lacks description of the actual processes of migration and detailed evidence on selectivity. But the appendix contains a list of the persons in this movement, and thus could serve as material from which to trace subsequent migration streams westward and southward.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

South Riding. By Winifred Holtby. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xvii, 569. \$2.50.

Seldom does one find a book which "arrives" in as many ways as this. Miss Holtby, the author-daughter of a local government official in England, has written a story about English local government which is entrancing reading and is also sociologically adequate. The plot concerns a love affair between a country "gentleman" whose economic position is in decay, and a red-haired local school teacher. Both are victims of circumstances which bear them away from their strongest personal yearnings and into tragedies of unrequited life desires. Mechanical divisions of the book are titled according to the division of affairs in English local government such as "education," "small holdings," "poor relief," "finance," and "town planning." Each section not only sustains the Dostoyevsky-like story of the book, but also by a clever arrangement carries the community realistically through its struggle with particular problems. The work combines the realism of an English *Main Street* with that of a *Winesburg, Ohio*. Although it is not a story written primarily for author profit, it has sold widely because it is an artistic representation of real life. It is as penetrating as Reymont's *Peasants* and nearer to the American scene. It is one of those books which when once picked up, is not put down until the end is reached. Moreover, many people will want to reread it. At the same time, one is being informed in a most pleasant manner about the English rural scene and the coming American scene as we are now struggling to make it. *South Riding* deserves a place in every good library and should be assigned reading for professors and students.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Further Upward in Rural India. By D. Spencer Hatch. Madras, Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. xii, 200. Rs. 2. 8.

This work is a sequel to *Up From Poverty in Rural India*, which is in its third edition and has been translated into several languages. Dr. Hatch's training center for rural workers at Martandam in Travancore is reported by competent observers to be the most successful "rural reconstruction" project in India. Similar

centers have been founded under the direction of men trained by him in several Indian States. In this book he continues in a conversational style his account of the methods he employs, of his successes and failures. Its chief value is as a guidebook for missionaries and others who are working with backward peoples, but there is much of sociological interest, particularly from the standpoint of community organization. Dr. Hatch shows how he stimulates initiative of the villagers and founds village improvement on the principles of self-help. He indicates a tendency to move out from the crowded villages for better sanitary conditions and greater freedom from the social control of the village. His methods of training his assistants and "honorary secretaries" are particularly valuable, and his emphasis on a comprehensive program of social work, including the spiritual, mental, physical, economic, and social, is based not only upon scientific theory, but also upon the test of his own experience. It is an excellent book for rural social workers and rural rehabilitation agents to read and ponder over.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Spotlights on the Culture of India. By James Lowell Hypes. Washington: The Daylton Company, 1937. Pp. 368. \$3.00.

This interpretative description of Indian life is based on the author's observations for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry 1931-32, and on wide reading and correspondence. Being more than a travelogue, it is well documented throughout. Chapters on Contemporary Social Movements and Emergent Leadership in India are contributed by specialists in these subjects. Twenty-four well selected illustrations depicting various phases of Indian life add greatly to the understanding of the subject matter.

Topics range from a general statement on Indian population and interesting items regarding travel in India to matters of religion and arts and contemporary social movements. Perhaps of most immediate interest to the rural sociologist is Section III on Economic Institutions and Practices which deals with Indian agriculture, farm standards of living, markets, and social and cultural factors as they affect economic life. A chapter on the Indian Cow shows the importance of cattle as a source of power, fuel, food, and as objects of veneration.

In the last chapter Professor Hypes generalizes on the cultural implications of his findings. Some of the more important present-day problems include those of debt, disease, hunger, sanitation, caste rule, and folkways that hinder agricultural improvement. The cultural setting must be taken into account in the attempt to solve such problems, the roots of which go deep into the culture of the country; hence the average westerner is at a disadvantage in appreciating their significance to the Indian people. Rather than condemn those elements of the Indian culture which do not compare favorably with western standards, the author wisely concludes that India has much to teach us and that "if the West can contribute her science and her spirit of endeavor to India, India, in turn, has a spirit of repose and philosophical contemplation, which the West very much needs."

Louisiana State University

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER

Japan in Transition. By Emil Lederer and Emy Lederer-Seidler. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. Pp. xi, 260. \$3.00.

To the rural sociologist as well as the layman *Japan in Transition* may render a distinct service toward ordering and clarifying Western notions of Japanese society and culture. For two years the authors lived in Japan (Professor Lederer served on the faculty at the Imperial University of Tokyo), and their book appears to be based on a sympathetic yet objective understanding of its people. The present work is a revision of an earlier one, *Japan-Europa: Wandlungen in Osten*, published in Germany in 1929.

The authors begin with the interrelation of the people and their physical environment and then go on to set forth the age-old Asiatic fusion of religion, myth, and history as a basic feature of the social system. Cultural backgrounds of the contemporary regime are briefly traced, as is the influence of linguistic peculiarities upon the art, science, thinking, and temperament of the Japanese. Particularly illuminating is the chapter dealing with stereotyped conventions of the home, the dearth of spontaneity, the deeply rooted subjugation of the individual, and the pervasive emphasis upon social forms which are "inevitable in a static world that would persist in the strength, the security and the fastness which until yesterday were characteristic of the East." Japan's cultural indebtedness to China is discussed, but important differences between the two countries are pointed out, especially with regard to their respective organizations of the state. In bold relief against the cultural background of the East are set the problems of a contemporary society which is attempting to assimilate the science and technology—but not the ethos—of the West. Three final chapters, "Japan and the West," "Japanese Foreign Policy," and "Basic Economic Problems," review the difficulties which must be resolved in the process of transition.

Generalized data are given in a frame of reference that is useful for sociological purposes. The book is analytical without being abstruse, affords a clear delineation of a culture pattern contrasting sharply with our own, and has the additional merit of being highly readable.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

Mexico's Progress Demands Its Price. By Louis H. Warner. Boston: Chapman & Grimes, Mount Vernon Press, 1937. Pp. 344. \$2.50.

The Old Sheriff and Other True Tales. By Lafayette Hanchett. New York: Margent Press, 1937. Pp. 208. \$2.50.

Mr. Warner's work has a somewhat misleading title. It is an ordinary travel book based on a three-month tour of Mexico by the author. He traces his journey from place to place and comments on almost every phase of Mexican history and civilization, including wars, social life, and the general culture. The chapters are rather arbitrarily determined and there is no logical pattern in this undocumented work. Many of the author's conclusions appear to be sound, although the logic on which they are based is often questionable; as, for example, that found in the following quotation:

I have no doubt in the world that in the main our developments down in Mexico were fundamentally greedy and as such abusive. I do not care a flip for what anyone may say to the contrary; that statement goes and is true in the large sense generally, and particularly is it so of recent years. . . . Rave your head off at this if you like, but the more you do the more I shall be convinced of the truth of it all, and in direct ratio to your protest I will think you are a part and parcel of it. P. 324.

Those who are familiar with the Spanish language will be somewhat annoyed by the frequent misspelling of Spanish words and phrases, some of which are as follows:

Momientito (*momentito*), p. 55; miradors (*miradores*), p. 74; aguadiente (*aguardiente*), p. 91; hilado, (*helado*), p. 97; ejedor (*ejido*), p. 105; pronunciamiento (*pronunciamiento*), pp. 124, 134; cervesa (*cerveza*), p. 193; les banditos (*los bandidos*), p. 196; robozas (*rebozos*), p. 204; and there are others. Also the word *asininity* is spelled *assinity* on page 170.

Such errors will not increase the confidence of the reader in the authenticity of the information. In spite of the above criticisms, the book contains many interesting experiences and no doubt will be thoroughly enjoyed by many.

Mr. Hanchett's book is a collection of thirty-eight stories, all of which are either about people he knew, or about his own adventures, and are concerned with the early history of Colorado and Utah. In his foreword he says: "The incidents recorded cover actual happenings to the men and women whose names appear upon its pages." The tales are divided into three groups, the first containing fifteen stories covering ninety-two pages concerned with "pioneer days." Because of their distinctly rural setting, these pioneer tales will probably be more interesting to rural sociologists than the others. The second group consists of six stories concerning "big business." The third includes seventeen stories about "travel adventures." Most of these tales have a touch of humor and should provide the reader with an evening or two of diversion.

Connecticut State College

N. L. WHETTEN

Principles of Sociology. By Edward Alsworth Ross, 3rd ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938. Pp. xxvi, 728. \$4.00.

In this edition Professor Ross's famous book undergoes considerable change and is brought up to date by the inclusion of contemporary data and illustrations. Although the book is still divided into eleven parts the arrangement of the materials and topics contained in these parts differs considerably from that of the 1929 edition. Thus Part XI ("Sociological Principles") of the 1929 Edition has given way to "Projection into the Future" and the materials included in "Sociological Principles" have been placed in other sections of the book. As an example the subjects "Anticipation" and "Individualization" (Chapters LIV and LVI of the 1929 edition) are now found in Part VII ("Society and the Individual"). The new book also contains a chapter devoted to international conflict and war (Chapter XXVII).

In general the new book is a marked improvement over the other two editions. The materials are better arranged, the style is clearer, and its format is more attractive. The reader will also find that Professor Ross has given greater emphasis to social processes, thus portraying in an interesting manner the dynamics of society. The last two chapters will be found to be particularly stimulating.

This third edition of *Principles of Sociology* will undoubtedly do a great deal towards further enhancing the book's value and prestige.

University of Minnesota

ELIO D. MONACHESI

The Rules of Sociological Method. By Emile Durkheim, tr. by Sarah A. Solovay and Hohn H. Mueller; ed. by George E. G. Catlin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. 1x, 146. \$2.00.

This current translation of *Les Règles de la méthode sociologique* introduces many American students to Durkheim's famous pioneering classic in the field of social methodology, originally published in 1895. For the past two decades, however, it has been variously treated and criticized by contemporary theorists; that its influence remains unabated is convincingly demonstrated by the appearance of this English version.

The sustained prominence enjoyed by this brief manual is largely a result of fundamental problems it raises in the attempt to formulate a refined and precise method for the study of human organization. Foremost among these challenging issues and the one around which the others are entrenched is the perennial controversy of *realism* versus *nominalism*. By embracing a position approaching social realism, Durkheim, in contradistinction to his great contemporary, G. Tarde, insists that "social facts are to be treated as things," that "social phenomena are external to individuals," that "these facts reside exclusively in the very society itself which produces them, and not in its parts, i.e., its members," and that "social facts do not differ from psychological facts in quality only: *they have a different substratum*, they evolve in a different milieu, and they depend on different conditions." Further, he explicitly offers two objective characteristics, *exteriority* and *constraint*, to differentiate social facts from nonsocial facts. Whatever may be the virtues and deficiencies of these criteria, it is immediately obvious why the literal minded perceive mysticism and an untenable limitation of the social field, whereas others with a more liberal view, find in them less fault and more lasting worth. Regardless of the abundant intellectual wrangling over these salient points it is certain that in this work Durkheim justly and proficiently diverted much attention in social research from the individual to the social group. Its value to rural sociology is outstanding because, to use Durkheim's terminology, we deal with the "more realistic" groups. If urban research can still continue to play with nominalistic ideas, that does not free us from an obligation to attempt to explain the rural community by the use of some of Durkheim's hypotheses.

Louisiana State University

HOMER L. HITT

Economics and Cultural Change. By Russell A. Dixon and E. K. Eberhart. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938. Pp. xi, 550. \$3.50.

The authors ambitiously aim "to explain the origin and evolution of the present economic system and to show the relationship of any economic system to its enveloping culture," and "to show how the methods of production shape social attitudes. . . . The purpose is threefold: to trace the evolution of modern industrialism; to evaluate the contributions of each of the preceding cultures; and to study the forces promoting change in modern industrial society itself." Examined data are treated historically with an economic emphasis and from a "cultural" point of view. It is expected by the authors that this will serve as an introduction to the social sciences.

Descriptions of primordial economics and the beginnings of social life contain many facile generalizations about the origins of race and human culture which lead to the belief that the writers either have in their possession a vast body of archaeological evidence hitherto unknown or that they have allowed their imaginations to work overtime. Anthropologists probably would be glad to have evidence that cranial capacity has a significant positive correlation with "intelligence" in any sense of the word, especially in the cases of Piltdown, Heidelberg, Neanderthal, or Cro-Magnon man. Social anthropologists and sociologists would undoubtedly welcome new evidence of totemism and kinship organization in the Paleolithic period.

Despite this it seems significant that two economists have written a book trying to utilize data of the other social sciences in considering the extra-economic factors which operate in social relationships. Such an attempt suggests the futility of modern social science "departmentalism" and the sterile results of one-factor explanations of social processes. If it were possible to say as much for the end-product as for the authors' intentions, this book would be more than outstanding. The work has tried to cover too much ground without co-ordinating the data around a central theoretical scheme. Besides this, the authors have further hindered themselves with loose terminology and antiquated psychological postulates of "wants" and "desires" which tend to leave an ambiguous picture in the mind of the student.

Pennsylvania State College

G. T. BOWDEN

Social Psychology. By Daniel Katz and Richard L. Schanck. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1938. Pp. xiv, 700. \$3.75.

This elementary text attempts to present the data and concepts of social psychology in a systematic framework which is based chiefly upon the work of E. B. Holt, F. H. Allport, and G. W. Allport. Relying heavily upon experimental data, the writers try to resolve "the complex problems of societal evolution . . . into the problems of individual psychology." However, they recognize the various possible levels of abstraction in the analysis of social behavior, and their criticisms of alleged sociological realism, as represented by Sumner, seem to be valid.

The four-fold division of the book has the advantage of introducing the student to the possibility of valid interpretations at different levels of explanation. Whether or not this outweighs possible confusion and lack of integration in the mind of the beginning student as a result of these shifts of emphasis must be decided by the teacher.

Part I discusses social institutions from the standpoint of F. H. Allport's "multi-individual" philosophy.

Part II is in many respects the most valuable. The treatment of drives, motives, and of the development of behavior in social situations gives balanced recognition to both biological and social factors. There may be some question as to the cognitive value of the concepts of *adience* and *cross-conditioning*, but the discussion is generally concise and informative. The emphasis placed upon the learning-socializing process and the discriminating treatment of opposed theories of learning are other good points.

In part III the analyses of the methodology of personality studies and of the structural and developmental aspects of personality are of particular interest to the sociologist. A vote of thanks is due the authors for their lucid presentation of the meaning and limitation of intelligence tests. Chapter XV, on the relation of culture to personality, presents many challenging statements, including a criticism of Oswald Spengler.

Part IV, a discussion of social change, indicates that breadth of scope has resulted in some difficulties of arrangement and integration. Also, the effort to avoid "non-existent entities" à la Spengler appears also to have led them too far in the direction of an exaggerated nominalistic emphasis. We may well agree that beliefs in certain "group realities" are related to some very disturbing events in the modern world; nevertheless, social psychology must adequately reckon with the tangible fact of such influences. Is it too much to suggest that the question of group or institutional "reality" from an *evaluative* angle should be kept separate from the *factual* question of the extent to which behavior is a resultant of extra-individual relations and symbols?

Harvard University

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS

Collective Behavior. By Richard T. LaPiere. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. Pp. xiii, 577. \$4.00.

What is commonly known as social psychology is usually presented more from a nominalistic than from a realistic point of view, and many of the attempts to synthesize psychology and sociology have yielded a mixture rather than a fusion. In his recently published *Collective Behavior*, Richard T. LaPiere has developed an approach which will doubtless prove acceptable to most sociologists. In the preface an awareness is expressed that in the concern with the effects of interactions upon individual personalities, not enough sociopsychological attention has been given to social interactions themselves. The author sets himself the task of dealing with types of phenomena limited "to those which pertain to the interactions which occur in specific social situations."

Four main types of interaction are considered: cultural (institutional, conventional, formal, and regimental behavior), recreational (congenial, audience, and public behavior), control (exchange, politic, and nomothetic behavior), and escape (panic, revelous, fanatical, and rebellious behavior). Social interactions are in turn classified on the basis of five indexes: "the origin and function of the interaction; its ideologies; the membership of the situation; the relationship between the overt behavior of the members and their covert feeling states; and the personnel, the character, and the role of leadership." Within this systematic approach a wide variety of data is brought together and discussed on a simple yet adequate theoretical level. The whole arrangement is a most logical one and nowhere are the data pushed into arbitrary categories.

Some of the chapters hardly rise above the level of generalized description, and hence do not achieve a scientific status, but the author does not fall back on psychological "principles," and jargon is noticeably absent. The falsity of the rational-irrational dichotomy is carefully avoided and the treatment of cultural types of interaction shows an acute perception of the difference between high seriousness and mere rigmarole. Each section of the book is well documented with timely material drawn from popular and scientific literature, and the adept use of illustrative and supplementary matter shows a subtle insight which enhances the authenticity of the theoretical analysis. Because of its many good features, this work certainly merits investigation on the part of rural sociologists interested in collective behavior.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

The Family: Past and Present. Ed. by Bernhard J. Stern for the Commission on Human Relations. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. Pp. xiv, 461. \$2.75.

The Family: Past and Present is one of a series of books sponsored by the Commission on Human Relations in its attempt to help young people with the problems of contemporary American life. It consists of a group of selections designed to give young readers a glimpse into the structure and functioning of primitive, historical, and modern families. A large portion of the book is devoted to a portrayal of American family life in different social classes and in different sections of the country. The readings were drawn from a wide variety of sources and are greatly enhanced by some interesting and well-chosen photographs.

The editor's attempt to survey all literature dealing with the family led to the inclusion of several articles of questionable merit. For example, although the success of *Tobacco Road* as a stage production is not to be challenged, selections from it hardly deserve a place with the sociological analyses of Robert H. Lowie, Arthur W. Calhoun, Ralph Linton, L. T. Hobhouse and others appearing in the same volume. No attempt is made to analyze the divergent family types, but the arrangement of the chapters and the general tenor of the readings suggest that one of the objectives of the book is to trace the development of the family from

its primitive beginnings to the present. The editor assiduously avoids prejudicing the reader with any comment beyond a few words at the beginning of each section.

Harvard University

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

News Notes and Announcements

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA
DECEMBER 28-30, 1938
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
Hotel Book-Cadillac, Headquarters

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

10:00-12:00 A.M.—FIRST GENERAL SESSION, J. H. KOLB, *Presiding*
Founders' Room, Hotel Book-Cadillac

"THE RURAL COMMUNITY"

Presidential Address, "Criteria of Rural Community Formation,"
Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University

"The Development of Planned Rural Communities," Charles P.
Loomis, U. S. Department of Agriculture

"Diagnosing Rural Community Organizations," Douglas Ensminger,
Cornell University

Discussion of the above papers, published in *Rural Sociology*, led by

N. L. Whetten, Connecticut State College

A. B. Hollingshead, University of Indiana

Lewis Wade Jones, Fisk University

M. B. Smith, Louisiana State University

A. F. Wileden, University of Wisconsin

General Discussion

3:00-5:00 P.M.—SECOND GENERAL SESSION, CARL C. TAYLOR, *Presiding*,
Founders' Room, Hotel Book-Cadillac

"SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE FARM LABOR PROBLEM"

"Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the Pacific States," Paul H. Landis,
Washington State College

"Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the South," Harold C. Hoffsommer,
Louisiana State University

"Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the Midwest," Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa
State College

Discussion of the above papers, published in *Rural Sociology*, led by
Olaf Larson, Colorado State College
E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona

Geo. B. Hill, University of Wisconsin

B. O. Williams, Clemson College

C. O. Brannen, University of Arkansas

General Discussion

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

12:00 Noon—JOINT LUNCHEON with the American Farm Economic Association and the American Sociological Society, English Room, Detroit-Leland Hotel

"Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture,"

C. Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M. College

Discussion led by

W. E. Grimes, Kansas State College

R. C. Smith, Farm Security Administration, Indianapolis

3:00-5:00 P.M.—THIRD GENERAL SESSION, DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Presiding*, Founders' Room, Hotel Book-Cadillac

COMMITTEE REPORTS AND BUSINESS

Report of the Committee on Teaching, Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, Chairman

Report of the Committee on Extension Work, J. B. Schmidt, Ohio State University, Chairman

Report of the Committee on Research, C. Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M. College, Chairman

Work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Carl C. Taylor, in charge

Business Meeting

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

9:00-11:30 A.M. and 2:00-4:00 P.M.—ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS.

The following round tables will be held and others will be arranged for any groups who are interested in particular topics and advise the Secretary by Thursday noon. These round tables are for informal discussion of topics of special interest to particular members.

Cultural Areas, C. E. Lively, Chairman

Parlor D, Hotel Book-Cadillac

Extension Workers, B. L. Hummel, Chairman

Parlor F, Hotel Book-Cadillac

Student Round Table (a student), Chairman

Parlor J, Hotel Book-Cadillac

Research Relations with Federal Agencies, T. J. Woolter, Jr., Chairman

Parlor K, Hotel Book-Cadillac

HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the Rural Sociological Society of America will be at Hotel Book-Cadillac, where a registration and information desk will be maintained. Members are requested to register upon arrival.

Reservations should be made early. Rates at the Book-Cadillac are as follows:

Single room, bath—\$3.00-\$7.00

Double room, bath—\$5.00-\$9.00

At the Detroit-Leland:

Single room, bath—\$2.50-\$5.00

Double room, bath—\$4.00-\$7.00

And at Hotel Tuller:

Single room, bath—\$2.00-\$3.50

Double room, bath—\$4.00-\$5.50

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION WORK

European travel, political adventure, and teaching away from home occupied the time of the members of this committee so much during this year that there was little time taken to develop a program for the Association in the Extension field. By correspondence much effort was spent however in working on plans for the Lexington Conference of Extension Rural Sociologists.

Official approval for this conference was obtained from the Land Grant College Association in July. However, in the absence of authorized travel, no program committee meeting was held, nor was there any such program committee officially appointed. At press time the plans for this conference included discussions of topics suggested by several Extension Rural Sociologists as follows:

RE-EVALUATION OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE AGRICULTURAL
EXTENSION SERVICE

OBJECTIVES

1. Objectives for the Agricultural Extension Service

DR. C. B. SMITH, *U. S. Agricultural Extension Service*

2. Objectives for Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges

DR. DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Chairman, Rural Social Organization, Cornell*

3. Discussion

RELATIONSHIPS

1. Relationship of Rural Sociology Extension to Emergency Problems and Programs

PHILIP BECK, *Assistant Regional Director, Indianapolis*

2. Relationship of Rural Sociology Extension to Extension Administration and to other programs in the Agricultural Extension Service

H. C. RAMSOWER, *Director of Agricultural Extension, Ohio*

3. Discussion

METHODS

Planning:

1. Comprehensive yet Logical and Democratic Approaches to Group Planning and to Social Planning
DR. C. C. TAYLOR, *Division Farm Population, U. S. D. A.*
2. Plans and Experiences in County Organization and Co-ordination for Effective Extension Work
B. L. HUMMEL, *Extension Sociologist, Virginia*
3. Discussion

Leadership Training:

1. Some Tested Organizational Procedures in Leadership Training
A. F. WILEDEN, *Rural Sociologist, Wisconsin*
2. Successful Educational Methods in Leader Training
 - a. Training Organization Leaders
DR. D. E. LINDSTROM, *Rural Sociologist, Illinois*
 - b. Training Recreation Leaders
R. B. TOM, *Extension Rural Sociologist, Rural Economics, Ohio State University*
 - c. Training Discussion Leaders
MARTIN ANDERSON, *Agricultural Extension, Wisconsin*
3. Discussion

In carrying out this program the persons named for specific subtopics are to give a five to seven-minute opening statement, certainly not longer than ten minutes. Extension Administrators and Program Supervisors of Extension Service are expected to be well represented.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION

Dr. W. H. Stacy, Iowa, was appointed in September to succeed C. O. Vaughan, Clemson College, S. C., who resigned because of the increased demands made upon his time by active participation in his state's congressional campaign. With reference to the matter of merging the older National Association of Rural Sociology Extension Workers into the Rural Sociological Society of America as it is now set up with a standing committee on Extension the committee recommends that only this one form, the new organization, be maintained.*

J. P. SCHMIDT, *Chairman*
MARY EVA DUTHIE
W. H. STACY

* This merger was effected, with forty-two workers present from fourteen states and several U. S. D. A. officers.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH

The Census of Population and Agriculture is being increasingly utilized by rural sociologists as the basis of research studies. In view of the approaching date when another Census will be taken, it seems appropriate to suggest certain changes in procedure which it is thought would improve the accuracy and increase the usefulness of the information collected. These suggestions may be grouped into two classes, one applying to the schedule and method of enumeration, and the second referring to the tabulation plans.

SUGGESTIONS FOR REVISION OF THE CENSUS SCHEDULE AND
ENUMERATION PROCEDURE

1. It is desirable to obtain more accurate information concerning the farm population. It is doubtful if this can be achieved without obtaining information concerning incidental agricultural production on small plots of land. It seems fairly obvious that a considerable proportion of the change in the number of farms and consequently in the size of the farm population from one Census date to another, is due to the method of determining whether or not small plots of land in the vicinity of urban areas shall be classed as farms.

At the present time there are probably as many definitions of a farm as there are enumerators. It is suggested that the enumerators be instructed to secure information concerning the agricultural production on all plots of land greater than a given size. This size apparently should be smaller than the present limit of three acres. The decision as to whether a plot of land shall be called a farm should be made in the central tabulating office at the time of coding. Not only would this system make possible a more uniform definition of a farm, but it would also furnish information concerning part-time farms.

2. A question on migration should be included on both the population and the agricultural schedules. On the population schedule, questions should be of this form: "Where were you living April 1, 1930?" The question on farm migration on the 1935 Census of Agriculture should be retained in 1940 and revised to show the race of the migrants.

3. If possible, it would be desirable to include questions concerning the year of marriage, total number of children born, and the total number of children living.

4. More data should be collected concerning the amount and kind of nonfarm employment of persons living on the farm. Provision should be made to show whether or not this was relief work, or whatever form such activities may take by 1939. The presence of a large number of persons who had work relief employment off the farm during 1934 makes it difficult to interpret the figures of the 1935 Agricultural Census.

5. An effort should be made to secure information for plantations where they exist. This may necessitate counting croppers as farm operators, in accordance with previous usage, and in addition making some arrangement whereby they can be grouped into the several plantations to which they are attached. The im-

portance of the plantation form of organization in the Southern States seems to warrant the additional effort this would involve.

6. It is important that methods be devised for checking the completeness and accuracy of the enumeration. This may involve a re-survey in several areas by a specially trained group of enumerators or some similar procedure which can be adapted to the administrative procedure of the Census.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TABULATION OF CENSUS DATA

1. It is essential that the Farm and Population schedules be closely co-ordinated during coding and tabulation, so that the data concerning farm population in the Population Volumes will agree with those in the Agricultural Volumes.

2. Separate tabulations for unincorporated villages above a given size such as 50, 250, etc., would be desirable. This is especially important in New England where villages seldom incorporate even with a population as high as 5,000 to 10,000.

3. Since the town rather than the county is the political unit in New England, it is suggested that as many as possible of the items in the present county series should be tabulated by towns for the New England States.

4. With the increasing importance of metropolitan areas, it is desirable that plans be formulated for increasing the amount of information which is tabulated for such areas. Before such tabulations can be satisfactorily made, it is essential that a better definition of metropolitan area be decided upon. The plan of tabulation should be revised so that detailed information can be presented for the entire area, for the central city, and for the territory outside the central city.

5. Consideration should be given to the advisability of revising the geographic divisions of the Census to conform more closely to economic and social areas. It is true that difficulties will be encountered in defining such areas and in maintaining comparable tabulation from one Census to another, but it seems likely that the usefulness of this information would outweigh such difficulties.

6. In the 1930 Census of Agriculture, questions were included for the first time concerning value of products sold or traded. The returns from these questions in connection with others on the Agricultural schedule provided for the classification of farms not only by value of product but also by type of farming. For the first time the number of farms producing products valued at less than \$250, \$250 to \$400, etc., was available by counties. This information is of paramount importance to students of rural standards of living. The retention of these questions in 1940 is very desirable not only for the information which they will yield concerning conditions at that time, but also for the information concerning the changes which have taken place since 1930.

7. Under the residence classification used in 1930, the urban farm population is a disturbing element, belonging in part with the other urban and in part with the rural farm. As the simplest procedure for classification, it is suggested that tabulations be made showing the urban farm population by sex, age, and occupation by states.

8. There is increasing demand for data showing the number of persons at-

tached to a given branch in industry. It is suggested therefore than an attempt be made in 1940 to determine the number of persons attached to agriculture, either as their own occupation or as the occupation of the person upon whom they are primarily dependent. The increasing use of farms, for residential purposes only, makes such a classification important.

9. Tenants and croppers should be separated from owners in occupational tables which now combine tenants and owners as farm operators.

10. There should be tabulation of the number of unpaid family workers by the tenure status of the operator. In a few states it would be desirable to segregate unpaid family workers who are assisting agricultural laborers as fruit or vegetable pickers, contract laborers, etc.

11. Because of the wide use to which the ratio of children to women is put, it would be desirable to include the number of women from twenty to forty-four by residence, marital status, and color in county tabulations.

12. It is recognized that the Bureau of Census must consider its schedules confidential and that unless the public has confidence that the Bureau of the Census respects this pledge, the work of the Bureau would be seriously impaired. It is suggested however that consideration be given to the possibility of making available to properly qualified institutions and persons certain parts of the original data for further study. This might be done by reproducing the requisite columns and omitting names by some photographic procedure.

13. It is realized that it is impossible to make the large quantity of detailed tabulations of Census data which are now desired, with the limited funds available for such work. Although many items of information such as total population are valuable only if a total count is made, many characteristics and attributes of both persons and farms can be satisfactorily studied from a tabulation of a sample of the entire body of data. The sample could be selected in several ways, and the method of selection could be varied with the type of information tabulated. Thus, some data might be tabulated for a few states or cities only while other data might be tabulated by taking a random sample of one-fifth, one-tenth, or some other proportion of the total number of schedules.

Although this procedure represents a departure from customary Census procedure, it is believed that the additional information which would be made available, would warrant its trial, at least in an experimental manner, at the 1940 Census. This is true even though a total count must be made of many items and even though the cost of tabulation is not directly proportional to the number of schedules utilized.

The Research Committee invites further suggestions on the United States Census as well as criticisms of the above memorandum. It is contemplated that a revised edition of the above memorandum will be presented to the Bureau of Census at an early date.

C. HORACE HAMILTON, *Chairman*
HAROLD F. DORN
NATHAN L. WHETTEN

University of Arizona:—In order to furnish original data to local county agents about living conditions and population, Mr. A. B. Ballantyne, Extension Specialist in Rural Sociology, has made a number of studies of small isolated communities depending upon irrigation for their support.

A new study was begun in September, 1938, taking up the subject of farm leases for Arizona irrigated farms, as related to land and water conservation and the stabilization of farm renters. Dr. George W. Barr, Agricultural Economist, and Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Rural Sociologist, co-operate in this Experiment Station project.

Colorado State College:—Dr. R. W. Roskelley, recently of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology for the year 1938-39. Olaf F. Larson, Associate Professor of Sociology, has been granted a year's leave of absence to take the position of regional sociologist in the Southern Great Plains with the Land Utilization Program of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Louisiana State University:—Louisiana State University has recently acquired the private economics library of Richard T. Ely. The collection represents the acquisition of sixty years, and includes 7,500 volumes, 10,000 pamphlets, more than 200 boxes of manuscripts, and 70 shelves of unbound periodicals and documents.

Social Science Research Council:—The Council announces Grants-in-Aid to be awarded in the spring of 1939 to mature scholars possessing the doctor's degree, or whose published works have shown a capacity for productive research. They are offered for the purpose of assisting staff members of the colleges and universities of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, and are designed to aid in completing rather than in initiating projects.

For further information, write the Grants-in-Aid Secretary, Social Science Research Council, at 230 Park Avenue, New York City, well in advance of January 5, 1939, stating previous research experience, nature of project, and amount of aid required; application blanks will not be released without this information.

Texas A. & M. College:—With the co-operation of the Works Progress and Farm Security administrations, studies of recent changes in farm tenancy and farm labor are under way. The relation of recent farm mechanization and crop control to the problems being studied is being given special attention. This study will cover approximately 450 large-scale farms and plantations located in twenty-six counties where cotton is the major farm enterprise. In addition to a record of mechanization and farm organization changes on these large farms, approximately five hundred records covering the status, mobility, employment, housing, incomes, and related data on farm laborers and their families will be obtained. Mr. W. C.

Holley, Assistant State Supervisor of Rural Research, W.P.A., is in active charge of the field work on this project.

Another co-operative project with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration will begin October 15. This project provides for further study of cropping systems and farm rental arrangements in relation to the agricultural adjustment programs.

